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The Luwians

Edited by
H. Craig Melchert

THE LUWIANS

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HANDBUCH DER ORIENTALISTIK

SECTION ONE

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

EDITED BY

H. ALTENMÜLLER · B. HROUDA · B.A. LEVINE · R.S. O'FAHEY
K.R. VEENHOF · C.H.M. VERSTEEGH

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EDITED BY

H. CRAIG MELCHERT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface xi
List of Abbreviations xiii
List of Maps, Figures and Plates xvii

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction (H. Craig Melchert) 1
1. Definition: who were the Luwians? 1
2. Sources 3
3. Dating and Chronology 4
4. Geography 5
CHAPTER TWO: Prehistory (H. Craig Melchert) 8
1. General Considerations 8
2. Luwian as an Indo-European Language 10
3. Indo-European Anatolian Languages in the Late Third Millennium 10
3.1 Palaic 10
3.2 Luwian 11
3.3 Lycian and Carian 14
3.4 Hittite (Nesite) 15
3.5 Lydian 22
4. Indo-European Speakers in Anatolia: when and from where? . 23
CHAPTER THREE: History (Trevor R. Bryce) 27
A. Introduction 27
B. The Luwians in their Bronze Age Context 35
1. The Luwian Population Groups of Western Anatolia 35
1.1 The Arzawa Lands 35
1.2 The Geographical Extent of the Arzawa Lands 38
1.3 The Lukka People 40
2. History of Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age 44
2.1 The Limitations of Luwian History 44
2.2 Early Contacts and Conflicts between Hatti and the Arzawa Lands 46
2.3 The Luwians of Western Anatolia during the First Half of the Hittite Kingdom 54

2.4 Prospects for a Luwian Empire 55
2.5 The Arzawa Lands as Hittite Vassal States 58
2.6 Further Unrest amongst the Western States 67
2.7 Lukka in the context of Western Anatolian History 73
2.8 The Final Years of the Bronze Age Kingdoms 78
3. The Diffusion of Luwian-speakers 84
4. The Luwians of Southeastern Anatolia 88
C. The Luwians in their Iron Age Context 93
1. The Kingdom of Hartapu 93
2. Tabal 97
3. Luwian Elements in Lycia and Cilicia 101
4. Cilicia in non-Classical Sources 102
5. Cilicia in Classical Sources 106
6. Lycia 107
6.1 Legendary Traditions 110
6.2 Sources for the History of Lycia 114
6.3 Patterns of Settlement 115
6.4 Some Historical Information 116
6.5 The evidence of the coinage 119
6.6 Lycia in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods 120
6.7 Greek elements in Lycia 121
7. Some Final Observations 124
CHAPTER FOUR: Scripts and Texts (J. D. Hawkins) 128
1. Introduction 128
2. Recognition 129
2.1 Cuneiform Luwian 129
2.2 Hieroglyphic 130
3. Decipherment of Hieroglyphic 131
3.1 Initial considerations 131
3.2 Successful entry 132
3.3 Seals (Boğazköy) 132
3.4 The Bilingual (KARATEPE) 133
3.5 Further seals (Ras Shamra) 133
3.6 Publications 134
3.7 The 'new readings' 135
4. Luwian united: progress since 1975 137
5. The Texts 138
5.1 Cuneiform Luwian 138

5.2 Hieroglyphic 139
5.2.1 The Empire corpus 139
5.2.2 Luwian character 140
5.2.3 Seals 141
5.2.4 Dating 146
5.2.5 Empire-Late transition 146
5.2.6 The Late corpus 147
6. The Scripts 152
6.1 Cuneiform 152
6.2 Hieroglyphic 155
6.2.1 Empire script: external appearance 155
6.2.2 Empire script: internal characteristics 156
6.2.3 Peculiar graphic practice: 'initial-*a*-final' 159
6.2.4 Late script: external appearance 161
6.2.5 Late script: internal characteristics 162
6.2.6 Origins 166
CHAPTER FIVE: Language (H. Craig Melchert) 170
A. Forms of Luwian 170
1. Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian 170
2. Lycian, Carian, Pisidian and Sidetic 175
B. Phonology 177
1. Phonemic Inventory 177
2. Phonological Rules/Variation 179
2.1 Rhotacism 179
2.2 Deletions 182
2.3 Insertions 183
2.4 'Sandhi' Rules 183
2.5 Vowel Lengthening 183
3. Phonotactics 184
3.1 Consonants 184
3.2 Vowels 185
4. Accent 185
C. Morphology 185
1. Nominal Inflection 185
1.1 Gender and Number 185
1.2 Case 186
1.3 '*ī*-mutation' 187
1.4 Possessive Adjectives in /-assa-/ 188

2. Pronouns ... 189
2.1 Personal Pronouns ... 189
2.2 Demonstrative, Interrogative-Relative, and Indefinite Pronouns ... 190
3. Verbal Inflection ... 191
3.1 Finite Forms of the Verb ... 191
3.2 Non-finite Forms of the Verb ... 194
4. Word Formation ... 194
4.1 Word Classes ... 194
4.2 Nominal Stem Formation ... 195
4.3 Verbal Stem Formation ... 199
D. Syntax ... 200
1. Word Order ... 200
2. Agreement ... 201
3. Use of Cases ... 202
4. Adpositions ... 203
5. Use of Pronouns ... 203
6. Use of Verbal Categories ... 204
7. Negation ... 206
8. Questions ... 207
9. Subordinate Clauses ... 207
10. Non-subordinating Conjunctions ... 208
11. Local Particles ... 210
CHAPTER SIX: Aspects of Luwian Religion (Manfred Hutter) ... 211
A. Introduction ... 211
1. Defining 'Luwians' chronologically and geographically ... 212
2. Defining Luwian Religion as a religion of its own ... 215
B. The Gods of the Luwians ... 218
General outline ... 218
2. Tarhunt and Tiwad: gods of all Luwians ... 220
2.1 The Storm-god ... 220
2.2 The Sun-god ... 224
3. Some further male gods: Arma, Santa, LAMMA ... 227
4. The main Luwian goddesses: Kamrusepa, Maliya, Huwassanna ... 230
C. Festivals and Magical Rituals from Local Luwian Centers ... 232
1. Greater Arzawa ... 234
2. The Lower Land ... 238
2.1 Istanuwa and Lallupiya ... 239

2.2 Huwassanna's cult at Hupisna 243
2.3 Magical rituals from the Lower Land 247
3. Luwian rituals from Kizzuwatna 250
4. The function of Luwian religious texts in the Hittite capital 254
D. Religious Experience, Values, and the People 256
1. Approaching the gods' sacredness 256
2. Elements of the Luwian idea of man 260
E. Continuity and Change in the First Millennium 264
1. Western Anatolia and contacts with the '(Pre)-Greek world 265
2. Tabal and the ongoing 'mixed' population in the Lower Land 270
3. Kizzuwatna 275
F. Conclusion: Luwian religion—a fragmentizing approach 277
CHAPTER SEVEN: Art and Architecture (Sanna Aro) 281
A. Scope of this chapter and terminology 281
B. Luwian art and architecture in the Bronze Age? 285
C. Luwian art and architecture in the Iron Age context 288
1. State of research and limits of present overview 288
1.1 Archaeological research 288
1.2 Monographs and handbooks on art and architecture 292
2. Datings of Luwian art in the Iron Age 293
3. 'Luwian' centers in North Syria: continuity or discontinuity? 297
4. Architecture 298
4.1 Defensive walls and monumental gate structures 299
4.2 Palaces and other public buildings 302
4.3 Sacral Buildings 304
5. Figured Works of Art 307
5.1 Portal figures 307
5.1.1 Lions 307
5.1.2 Sphinxes 310
5.2 Orthostat reliefs 311
5.3 Stelae 317
5.3.1 Storm-god Tarhunza 317
5.3.2 Kubaba and other goddesses 320
5.3.3 Kubaba with Karhuha 321
5.3.4 Tutelary and other deities 322

5.3.5 Rulers 322
5.3.6 Rulers and deities together 324
5.3.7 Other funerary or grave stelae 325
5.4 Statuary 327
5.4.1 Cult-statues of deities 327
5.4.2 Ruler statues 328
5.4.3 Statuettes 332
5.4.4. Statue bases 333
5.5 Rock reliefs 333

Bibliography 338
Indices 364
Persons 364
Deities 367
Lands, Peoples, and Dynasties 369
Cities and Sites 372
Mountains 375
Rivers, Lakes, and Seas 375
Languages 376
Cuneiform Luwian 376
Hieroglyphic Luwian 379
Hittite 381
Lycian 382
Lydian 382
Other Languages 383
Plates

PREFACE

Since their rediscovery in the early twentieth century the Luwians have hardly become a household word. Nevertheless, references to the Luwians, to their language, or to other aspects of their culture do occur with some regularity in discussions of their better known neighbors and 'relatives' the Hittites and in comprehensive works on the Ancient Near East in the second and first millennia BCE. An internet search of 'Luwian' by any of the standard search engines produces more than a thousand 'hits'. Even when one has eliminated those that are totally extraneous and the many duplications, the number of serious references is remarkably high.

Predictably, the accuracy and currency of the information presented on the various web sites just mentioned is quite variable. Rather more disturbing is that this remark applies also to information found in some standard printed reference works. The article on 'Anatolian languages' in the Sixth Edition (2000) of *The Columbia Encyclopedia* speaks of Cuneiform Hittite, Hieroglyphic Hittite and Luwian. It goes on to specify that Hittite was written in both scripts, while Luwian was written in cuneiform. One is less startled by this misinformation in a work of the year 2000 when one notes that the only bibliographical references given are to books of 1951 and 1957.

This example provides eloquent testimony that the Luwians need and deserve an up-to-date reference work of their own. Therefore when Albert Hoffstadt of Brill first approached me at the meeting of American Oriental Society in New Orleans in April, 1998, with the idea of a handbook on the Luwians for the prestigious Handbook of Oriental Studies, I could only heartily second his suggestion. After some hesitation I agreed to serve as editor and to write at least the chapter on language. Given the inevitable problem of previous commitments, assembling the necessary collective expertise for the volume as a whole required some time. I feel most fortunate to have secured the assistance of colleagues Sanna Aro, Trevor Bryce, David Hawkins, and Manfred Hutter.

With such collaborators I have seen my role as editor merely as one of coordination and maintaining reasonable consistency in the form of presentation. I have quite intentionally refrained from trying to impose any single overall viewpoint and have let stand some overlapping in treatment of certain topics. Readers may thus take convergences as the result of independent reflection and disagreements as a sign of issues that still await definitive resolution.

My warmest thanks go to Patricia Radder, Assistant Editor for the Ancient Near East and Asian Studies at Brill, for her unfailingly prompt, friendly, and professional assistance in all stages of seeing the book through to publication. I am also grateful to colleagues Edwin Brown for assistance with proofreading and Norbert Oettinger for having read substantial portions of the text and offered valuable corrections and suggestions. I would also like to thank Günter Anders for so promptly making available to me the preliminary version of his Hieroglyphic Luwian font. Above all, I am of course deeply indebted to all of my collaborators. The respective chapters under their names speak for themselves, but I also wish to acknowledge here their multiple contributions to the overall shape of the work as a whole.

Chapel Hill, November 2002 H. Craig Melchert

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*. Berlin.
AANL	*Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Memorie, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Rome.
AAAS	*Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*. Damascus.
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Abteilung. Munich.
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*. Berlin, Graz, Horn, Vienna.
ÄHK	Elmar Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*. Bände I/II. Opladen 1994.
AION-L NS	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*. Sezione linguistica. Nuova Serie. Rome, Naples.
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*. Norwood, Concord, New York, Boston.
AM	Albrecht Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš* (MVAeG 38). Leipzig 1933 (repr. Darmstadt 1967).
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*. London.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Kevelaer/ Neukirchen-Vluyn.
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*. Berlin.
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*. Prague.
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, classe di lettere e filosofia. Pisa.
AuOr	*Aula Orientalis*. Sabadell.
BIAA	British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Leiden.
Bo	Inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets, Istanbul and Berlin.
BoSt	*Boghazköi- Studien*. Leipzig.
BSL	*Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*. Paris.
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History*, third edition. Cambridge 1970ff.

CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. Paris.
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*. London.
CTH	Emmanuel Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Paris 1971.
DŠ	Hans G. Güterbock, The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma as Told by his Son, Muršili II. *JCS* 10 (1956) 41-68, 75-98, 101-130.
EA	Texts from El-Amarna. Trans. William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore 1992.
EAA	*Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica ed orientale*. Rome.
EVO	*Egitto et Vicino Oriente*. Pisa.
HbOr	*Handbuch der Orientalistik*. Leiden.
HKM	Sedat Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük*. Ankara 1991.
HS	*Historische Sprachforschung*. Göttingen.
IBK	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. Innsbruck.
IBoT	*İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri(nden Seçme Metinler)*. Istanbul 1944, 1947, 1954, Ankara 1988.
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft. Innsbruck.
IncLing	*Incontri Linguistici*. Udine.
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*. Strasbourg, Berlin.
JAC	*Journal of Ancient Civilizations*. Changchun.
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*. New York.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*. New Haven, Ann Arbor.
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*. New Haven, Cambridge MA, Philadelphia, Baltimore.
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap* ('Ex Oriente Lux'). Leiden.
JIES	*Journal of Indo-European Studies*. Hattiesburg, Washington DC.
JKF	*Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung*. Heidelberg.

JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago.
JNG	*Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*. Munich.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Leipzig, Berlin.
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*. Berlin.
KZ	*Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* ('Kuhns Zeitschrift'). Berlin, Gütersloh, Göttingen.
Madd.	Albrecht Götze, *Madduwattaš* (MVAeG 32.1). Leipzig 1928.
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft. Berlin.
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*. Berlin.
MSS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*. Munich.
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderastiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse. Göttingen.
ÖJh	*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*. Vienna.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Louvain.
Or	*Orientalia*. Rome.
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul = Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul. Leiden.
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale*. Paris.
RHA	*Revue hittite et asianique*. Paris.
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. Berlin.
RS	Ras Shamra text, cited by inventory number.
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*. Rome.
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*. Rome.

SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse. Berlin.
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Wiesbaden.
TAVOB	*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Beihefte.* Tübingen.
THeth	Texte der Hethiter. Heidelberg.
TIES	*Tocharian and Indo-European Studies.* Reykjavik, Copenhagen.
TL	Ernst Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris: Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti.* Vienna 1901.
TTKY	*Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından.* Ankara.
TÜBA-AR	*Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi.* Ankara.
TürkAD	*Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi.* Ankara.
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen.* Neukirchen-Vluyn.
VBoT	Albrecht Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköy-Texte.* Marburg 1930.
VS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Vienna.
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete.* Leipzig, Weimar, Strasbourg, Berlin.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.* Leipzig, Wiesbaden, Stuttgart.

LIST OF MAPS, FIGURES AND PLATES

Map 1: Tentative Areas of Indo-European Speakers in the Late 3rd Millennium BCE 9
Map 2: Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age 37
Map 3: Anatolia in the Iron Age 94
Map 4: Locations of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions 142

Figure 1a-d: 'Tarkondemos' seal, seal of Muwattalli II, seal of Kuzi-Teshub, Ankara silver bowl inscription 144
Figure 2: Selected Logograms of Hieroglyphic Script 157
Figure 3: Regular Syllabary of Hieroglyphic Script 164

Plate Ia: Hittite Cuneiform tablet, *HT* 1 obverse, cols. i-ii, with Zarpiya ritual. Photo courtesy of the British Museum,
Plate Ib: Hittite rock relief İMAMKULU. Photo J. D. Hawkins.
Plate Ic: EMİRGAZİ altar B, view from four sides. Photo J. D. Hawkins.
Plate IIa: the İŞPEKÇÜR stele, the three sculptured faces. Photo from Hawkins (2000) pl. 143.
Plate IIb: KARATEPE North Gate, sculptures with part of the Hieroglyphic inscription. Photo from Çambel (1999) plates 85 and 87.
Plate IIc: KARATEPE North Gate entrance, the entire Phoenician inscription. Photo from Çambel (1999) pl. 6.
Plate IIIa: KARKAMIŠ A 13*d* inscription with introductory figure of Katuwa. Photo from Hawkins (2000) pl. 24.
Plate IIIb: KULULU 1, inscribed stele of Ruwa, vassal of Tuwati. Photo from Hawkins (2000) pl. 244.
Plate IIIc: KULULU lead strip 2, administrative text (issues of sheep). Photo from Hawkins (2000) pl. 287.
Plate IV: general plan of Carchemish after Woolley (1921) pl. 3.
Plate V: general plan of Karatepe after H. Çambel, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1993) Abb. I.
Plate VI: general plan of Göllüdağ after Schirmer (1993) fig. 3.

Plate VIIa: Plan of the public building in Göllüdağ, drawing after Schirmer (1993) fig. 4.
Plate VIIb: Fragmented lion head from Kululu. Photo S. Aro.
Plate VIIIa: Göllüdağ double lion, profile of right lion, present state of preservation in Kayseri museum garden. Photo S. Aro.
Plate VIIIb: Gate lion from Göllüdağ. Photo S. Aro.
Plate IXa: Fragmented sphinx head from Kululu. Photo S. Aro.
Plate IXb: Fragmented sphinx body. Photo S. Aro.
Plate X: reliefed orthostat block from the Lion Gate in Malatya after M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethither* pl. 51.
Plate XI: reliefed orthostat from Herald's Wall in Carchemish, after Hogarth (1914) pl. B14*b*.
Plate XII: reliefed orthostat with HLuwian inscription and portrait of the ruler Katuwa from Carchemish. See plate IIIa.
Plate XIII: reliefed orthostat from Royal Buttress in Carchemish with Yariri and Kamani, after M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* pl. 68.
Plate XIV: tutelary deity from Kültepe. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XV: reliefed orthostat from Karatepe, after Darga (1992) fig. 329.
Plate XVIa: Storm-god of "type 1", drawing after a stela found in Babylon.
Plate XVIb: Storm-god of "type 2", drawing after a stela from Tell Ahmar.
Plate XVIIa: stela from Keşlik. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XVIIb: fragmented stela from Ivriz. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XVIIIa: detail of the fragmented stela from Aksaray showing the left boot of the Storm-god. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XVIIIb: stela from Niğde. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XIX: detail of the stela from Niğde. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XXa: stela from Tavşan Tepesi broken in two pieces. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XXb: detail of the stela from Bor showing the embroidered cloak of Warpalawa. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XXIa: detail of the fragmented stela from Andaval. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XXIb: stela from Çiftlik. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XXIIa: stela from Maraş, after M. Darga (1992) fig. 302.

Plate XXIIb: Carchemish head fragment of a funerary statue, after M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* pl. 67.
Plate XXIII: colossal statue from Kululu, after Özgüç (1971) pl. 36.
Plate XXIVa: head fragment of statue from Kululu, after Özgüç (1971) pl. 40,2.
Plate XXIVb: head fragment of a statue from Ivriz. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XXV: rock relief in Kızıldağ, after Bittel (1976) fig. 270.
Plate XXVIa: rock relief in Karapınar near Kayseri, drawing after Özgüç (1993) pl. 87.
Plate XXVIb: rock relief in Gökbez. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XXVII: rock relief in Ivriz. Photo S. Aro.
Plate XXVIII: rock relief in Ivriz, drawing after Bier (1976) fig. 5.
Plate XXIX: rock relief in Ambarderesi. Photo S. Aro.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

H. CRAIG MELCHERT

1. *Definition: who were the Luwians?*

The Luwians (re)enter history with the discovery in 1906 of the cuneiform archives of the ancient capital of the Hittite Empire, Hattusa (near the modern village of Boğazköy/Boğazkale, about ninety miles east of Ankara).[1] Several provisions of the Hittite Laws assure us that in the middle of the second millennium BCE there was in Asia Minor a land Luwiya (KUR *Lu-ú-i-ya*).[2] Paragraph five referring to the slaying of a Hittite merchant shows that Luwiya must have been contiguous to or at least very near the heartland of the Hittite kingdom in Hatti (the central Anatolian plateau encircled by the Halys River, the modern Kızıl Irmak).

Paragraphs §§19-21 of the Laws deal with the abduction of free persons from Hatti to Luwiya and slaves from Luwiya to Hatti. The penalty for a Luwian who abducts a free Hittite is forfeiture of his entire estate, while a Hittite who abducts a free Luwian pays only six persons. Conversely, theft of a slave belonging to a Hittite requires a penalty of 12 shekels of silver, while a Luwian slave-owner is entitled

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[1] The gradual reemergence of the Luwians during the twentieth century is illustrated by the successive editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. The eleventh edition of 1910 has an article on the Hittites by David W. Hogarth that already acknowledges the new discovery at Boğazköy. However, since the Hittite-language texts were deciphered by Bedřich Hrozný only during the First World War, Hogarth's article naturally can take no account of these, and there is no mention of the Luwians. The fourteenth edition of 1929-1941 has an article on the Hittites by none other than Hrozný himself that includes a section on "Lûish". Understandably, some aspects of his description are now outdated. The edition of 1962 finally brings a separate article on the Luwians by Hans G. Güterbock, an excellent treatment that retains its validity in all essentials to the present day.

[2] The most recent edition of the Laws is Hoffner 1997. Other important editions are those of Friedrich 1959 and Imparati 1964.

only to the return of his slave. This quite unequal treatment suggests that the Hittites viewed the Luwians as 'foreign', belonging to 'the other', not to their own social group. That Luwiya has a purely geographic sense (Klinger 1996 17[41]) is not credible. On the other hand, the very inclusion in the Laws of special provisions for cases involving Luwians (and not inhabitants of other countries) argues for a close relationship of some kind (cf. the remarks of Friedrich 1959 91, Güterbock 1961 67, and Hoffner 1997 180f).

Scholars such as Hrozný, Forrer, and Sommer did not hesitate to speak of 'peoples', but they were conscious of the difficulties in the use of this term. Today we are even more acutely aware of the fact that language and culture often do not correspond to ethnicity or 'nationhood'.[3] We thus refer merely to 'the Luwians'. Nevertheless, we are still obliged to give some idea of just what we mean by this term. One obvious possibility is that suggested by the references to the Hittite Laws cited above: the inhabitants of the land Luwiya.

This definition for 'Luwian' and 'Luwians' proves to be impractical, because we have a very imperfect idea of the location and extent of Luwiya. One reason for this is that there is no evidence that there was ever a unified Luwian state or polity—there are no kings of Luwiya or a capital city. The replacement of Luwiya by Arzawa in the Neo-Hittite copy of the Hittite Laws shows that Luwiya must have included a considerable portion of western Asia Minor (see Chapters Two and Three below). Nothing, however, suggests that Luwiya and Arzawa are coterminous. On the contrary, the presence of Luwian ritual texts in the Hittite archives originating in Kizzuwatna argues that Luwiya included portions of southern and southeastern Asia Minor. The distribution of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions tends to confirm that Luwian territory extended in a broad arc that ran from northwest to southeast to the west and south of the Halys River. However, we also have Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions written by Hittite kings, including in Hattusa. Further such inscriptions are found in the 'Neo-Hittite' states of northern Syria following the fall of the Hittite Empire. It is far from clear just what conclusions we may draw about a 'Luwian' presence in a given area based merely on the appearance of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions. We

[3] For further problems in applying the concept 'people(s)' to ancient Anatolia see Starke (1997a 460 with n. 131).

must also, of course, allow for the possibility of population movements over time. In sum, the limits of 'Luwian' territory are ill defined.

The preceding paragraph already brought mention of Luwian texts. Despite our knowledge that language is not always a reliable criterion in identifying or defining an ethnic group or people, we have little else to go on (cf. the remark of Sommer 1947 30). With all due reserve we will here use 'Luwians' effectively to mean 'Luwian-speaking population groups'. And descriptions of their history, religion, and material culture will refer to those topics in areas where we have reason to suppose significant presence of Luwian speakers. Readers should bear in mind the obvious limitations of such a working definition and the fluid nature of the boundaries in all of these aspects of human societies. They should also not be surprised or disturbed that the contributors to this volume, to say nothing of other scholars, do not always arrive at the same conclusions on this point.

2. *Sources*

Our knowledge of the Luwians derives from a number of sources, of quite variable size, quality and value:

(1) Direct references to the land of Luwiya and its inhabitants. These are limited to §§5, 19-21, and 23 of the Hittite Laws as cited above. In addition, Carruba (1992 254ff) has argued persuasively that the term *nuwa'um* of the Old Assyrian texts from Kanesh (see Edzard 1989 107ff) also refers to the Luwians. This identification is important in establishing the presence of Luwians in south central Anatolia already at the start of the second millennium.

(2) Appearance of Luwian personal names in Old Assyrian texts from Kanesh and elsewhere from the 20th-18th centuries BCE (see Tischler 1995 with extensive bibliography), in Hittite texts from Hattusa and elsewhere from the 16th to the 13th centuries (see Laroche 1966 and 1981a),[4] in Assyrian texts from the 9th to

[4] For personal names in Hittite texts published since Laroche (1981a) see the web-based 'Répertoire d'onomastique' of Marie-Claude Trémouille at www.orient.uni-wuerzburg/hetonom/.

7th centuries,[5] and in Greek texts from Anatolia of the first millennium (see Zgusta 1964).

(3) Mention of place-names associated with both Luwian texts and with bearers of Luwian personal names (it is important to stress that we have no assurance in most cases that the place-names *themselves* are linguistically Luwian!). For place-names in Hittite texts see Del Monte and Tischler (1978) and in Greek sources Zgusta (1984).[6]

(4) Luwian-language texts. For the details of this evidence see Chapter Four.

3. *Dating and Chronology*

Both the absolute dating and relative chronology of persons and events in the Ancient Near East are matters of considerable controversy. For two recent discussions of the problem see Cryer (1995) with extensive bibliography and Bryce (1998 408-415). The dates used in this work tend to adhere to what are termed the 'Middle' or 'Low' chronologies. One may compare, for example, the dates given for Hittite kings in Bryce (1998 xiii-xiv) and Klengel (1999 392-393) with those of Starke (2002). The differences tend to be significant only for the Old Hittite kingdom. They thus have little impact on most of the issues treated here. Likewise, while the existence or non-existence of certain Hittite kings obviously is of importance for Hittite history, Luwian history as we now know it is relatively unaffected by such discrepancies. Readers should note merely that the kings listed by Starke as Hattusili II and Tudhaliya III are the same as Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV given by Bryce and Klengel.

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[5] The most accessible recent survey of this material is found in the respective 'Historical Context' passages in Hawkins (2000).

[6] A few relevant personal and place-names also are found in other sources, such as texts from Ugarit (Ras Shamra), Egypt and the Old Testament. For a recent survey of the biblical material see Cancik (2002a), with a discussion of why these references are labeled 'Hittite'. Readers should know that identification of the place-name Que (= HLuwian /Kawa/) in First Kings 10.28f and Second Chronicles 1.16-17 dates only to the end of the nineteenth century. They will not find it in the King James Version or other older translations. One should also be prepared to find various alternative spellings such as Kue, Qöe or Coa.

4. *Geography*

Readers cannot be expected to follow descriptions of Luwian history, prehistory and other topics without some guide to the many place-names cited. They should be aware, however, that the maps offered here (Maps 2 and 3, pp. 37 and 94) are fully as much a matter of interpretation as the rest of the contents. The location of the hundreds of place-names attested in our ancient texts is a matter of intense debate and ongoing investigation. For various reasons there is fairly widespread agreement regarding most of the place-names cited in this work from northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia. If one compares these sites on the maps in works such as MacQueen (1986), Bryce (1998), Klengel (1999) and Starke (2002), one will find few discrepancies. Even here, however, one must be prepared to find dissenting opinions (cf. the new proposal of Casabonne 2002 regarding Kummani and Lawazantiya, following Trémouille).

Given the focus of the present work, it has seemed prudent to limit identifications for central Anatolia to a few that are a matter of broad consensus and to avoid explicit claims about more controversial cases (cf. the discussion regarding Kussara and Sana(h)witta below in Chapter Two, p. 22). For western Anatolia, however, choices had to be made, and some justification for them is called for. It would be rash to speak yet of a consensus, but a comparison of Map 2 presented here with those of Hawkins (1998b 31) and Starke (2002 303ff) vis-à-vis those of older works such as Garstang-Gurney (1959) and Forlanini-Marazzi (1986) shows that considerable progress has been made.

Evidence of the treaty of Tudhaliya IV with Kurunta (see Otten 1988) confirms that the land of Tarhuntassa stretched as far west as Parha (Perge) and the Cestros River. The YALBURT hieroglyphic inscription shows that the second-millennium Lukka lands were centered on classical Lycia (see Poetto 1993 75ff). These localizations effectively fill the southernmost quadrant of western Anatolia, precluding the location there of other disputed territories. The demonstration by Hawkins (1998b) that the land of Mira extended to the west central coast also almost inexorably forces other pieces of the interlocking puzzle to fall into place (cf. also Starke 1997a 450ff). The *relative* positions of Wilusa, Appawiya, the Seha River Land,

Arzawa-Mira, and Kuwaliya are reasonably assured.[7] Likewise it no longer seems possible to deny the long proposed identifications of Apasa with Ephesos and Millawanda with Miletos.

One remaining topic of disagreement concerns the Astarpa and Siyanta Rivers, the lands of Hapalla and Walma, and the precise extent of Pedassa and the 'Lower Land' that lie to their east. These are interlocking issues, and a decision in one case tends to determine the rest. The picture presented in Map 2 here essentially follows that of Hawkins (1998b). He identifies the Astarpa with the modern Akar Çay (thus already Garstang-Gurney 1959 86). Starke (2002 304ff) equates the Astarpa with the upper course of the Maeander. Hawkins further suggests the modern Seydi or Porsuk, upper tributaries of the Sangarios, as the Siyanta (the former is chosen here). Starke and others (e.g. Garstang-Gurney 1959 91f) identify the Siyanta rather with the Banaz Çay, a tributary of the Maeander. For reasons cited by Hawkins, the alternative identifications seem to displace the two rivers too far to the south and west.

There is a consensus that the northern limit of Walma is near the site of classical Holmi, southeast of modern Afyon. Pedassa must lie to the west of the Salt Lake (see Hawkins 1998b 22). On the other hand, in the treaty of Tudhaliya IV with Kurunta, the western border of Tarhuntassa formed by the Cestros River is continued directly by Walma and then Pedassa. There seems no problem in assuming that Pedassa stretched in a north-south direction so as to fulfill both these requirements. The southward extension of Walma is harder to determine (cf. the different solutions of Garstang-Gurney 1959 x and Starke 2002 306). The matter is left open here.

Hawkins (1998b 14) places Hapalla in inner Pisidia, a position that puts it near Kuwaliya and also open both to attack from the Lower Land as generally defined (see KUB 19.22,4ff on the attack of the Hittite general Hannutti) and to incursions by Madduwatta from the Siyanta River Land (*Madd.* §§19-20). Starke (2002 304ff) locates Hapalla significantly farther north, east of the Seha River Land

[7] The placement of Wilusa in the northwest argues for a similar location of the associated Tarwisa (KUB 23.11 ii 19) and the long suggested connection with the name of Troy (see further Starke 1997a 455 and Bryce in this volume, p. 68). On the problem of the additional name Tarwiza (*tara/i-wa/i-zi/a*) see Hawkins (1997 17ff).

(similarly Garstang-Gurney 1959 97ff). Not coincidentally he extends the area of the Lower Land to the northwest (to west of the Salt Lake).[8]

Also problematic is the position of the land of Karkisa/Karkiya. It is tentatively put here on Map 2 in the vicinity of classical Caria, with Peschlow-Bindokat (2002) and others. Starke (2002 304) places Karkisa in the far northwest, east of Wilusa, based on the association of Karkisa with the Land of Assuwa, which he connects with classical Assos (see Starke 1997a 456 and also Garstang-Gurney 1959 105ff). However, one can equally well connect Assuwa with the name Asia (Bossert 1946 et al.), whose original localization is in west central Asia Minor (see Georgacas 1971 27f).[9] It is thus by no means clear that Assuwa was restricted to the northwest (cf. Bryce in this volume, p. 74).[10] Hawkins (1998b 29) weighs the alternatives and leaves the issue open. A definitive answer is not yet possible. Localization of the Land of Masa remains even more difficult. Starke (2002 304ff) opts for a northern location in the area of classical Bithynia, but the current evidence is conflicting: see Hawkins (1998b 29f) for discussion and references.

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[8] If one accepts Hawkins' location of Hapalla as adopted in Map 2, its absence among the lands bordering Tarhuntassa is surprising, since it would lie between Walma and Tarhuntassa. However, Hapalla is last attested in the reign of Muwattalli (treaty with Alaksandu). It may thus have no longer existed as a discrete entity by the time of the treaty with Kurunta.

[9] See *Iliad* 2.461: 'Ασίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καϋστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα 'in the Asian meadow along the streams of the Cayster'.

[10] *Linguistically*, all three terms are likely related, in a chain **Assa-* > *Assuwa-* (cf. *Zalpa/Zalpuwa, Ahhiya/Ahhiyawa*) > **Asswiya-* '(land) of Assuwa' (attested in the Mycenaean personal name *a-si-wi-jo*). For the last step see Starke (1997a 458). His supposed base **Assu-* for *Assuwa-* (1997a 456) is pure invention. The base is surely non-Indo-European.

CHAPTER TWO

PREHISTORY

H. CRAIG MELCHERT

1. *General Considerations*

The problem of identification confronted in Chapter One becomes even more acute when we turn to prehistory. There can be little doubt that the societies of which Luwian speakers were a part were multi-ethnic, and this is almost certainly true of the Luwian-speaking population itself. Strictly speaking, then, a prehistory of the Luwians should include tracing the source of all those strands the union of which led to the 'Luwian' societies of the second and first millennia BCE. Such an undertaking lies far beyond our capacities, and we are once again constrained to focus on *linguistic* prehistory. The following discussion is limited to that group of speakers whose prehistoric Indo-European dialect led to the attested language we call Luwian. That this is a mere fragment of the total picture of Luwian prehistory should be self-evident, but we must work with what we have (cf. the remarks of Macqueen 1986 26 and 35).

Even this limited enterprise is fraught with serious problems. There is no neat correlation between the spread of language and population movements. Language spread *may* result from mass migrations, and the latter may include hostile takeovers of land that justify use of the terms 'invasion' or 'conquest'. However, peaceful infiltration of relatively small numbers of speakers can also eventually lead to widespread adoption of their language in a new area. This range of possible scenarios makes it very difficult to correlate putative movements of prehistoric speakers with changes observed in the archaeological record of sites dating from the time before written records. Before attempting any such correlation, we must first derive as much as we can from the purely linguistic data.

Map 1: Tentative Areas of Indo-European Speakers in the Late 3rd Millennium BCE

2. *Luwian as an Indo-European Anatolian Language*

It is clear that Luwian does not stand in isolation. It is part of a group of closely related languages that includes Hittite, Palaic, Lycian, Lydian, and Carian[1] (the poorly attested languages Pisidian and Sidetic may themselves merely be late forms of Luwian, though this cannot be affirmed with finality). All of these languages of ancient Anatolia are derived from a prehistoric language we may term 'Proto-Anatolian'. Proto-Anatolian in turn is derived from Proto-Indo-European, the ultimate source of most of the languages of modern Europe as well as those of Iran, Afghanistan, and much of India. Since the beginning of Indo-European studies there has been much interest in trying to locate in space and time the putative speech community associated with the reconstructed language stage we call Proto-Indo-European.[2] The discovery that the Anatolian languages as defined above belong to the Indo-European family has both renewed and complicated the debate over this issue. It seems prudent to treat this complex problem from the bottom up and to begin with what we can say about the immediate prehistory of Luwian itself and its closest relatives in Anatolia.

3. *Indo-European Anatolian Languages in the Late Third Millennium*

3.1. *Palaic*

Palaic, attested as a liturgical language in a few ritual texts from Hattusa (see Carruba 1970), was the language of the land of Palā, mentioned in §5 of the Hittite Laws alongside Hatti and Luwiya.

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[1] The attested Carian language is assuredly Indo-European Anatolian, pace Stefanini (2002 796). See the various contributions in Blümel et al. (1998).

[2] Readers should be aware that there is considerable debate about the degree of reality that may be attributed to reconstructed proto-languages such as PIE. Many scholars seriously doubt or even deny the validity of attempts to identify and locate prehistoric speech communities. Such skepticism has not and certainly will not stop discussion of the topic, but these reservations should be borne in mind. For a sober and well-balanced summary of the problem of the PIE 'homeland' see Mallory (1989). As pointed out by a number of scholars, the traditional term 'homeland'/ *Urheimat* is infelicitous and should be avoided. What is at issue is the approximate location of the PIE speech community at its last period of relative unity. There are many possible scenarios for how these speakers came to be at that location and for how the reconstructed language we call PIE came to be formed.

There is essentially unanimous agreement that Palā was located to the northwest of the lower course of the Halys River in classical Paphlagonia (see Map 1). The classical name Blaene is surely a reflection of Palā.[3] It is important to note that in Old Hittite texts of the 16th century Palaic is already a fully distinct language from Hittite and Luwian.

3.2. *Luwian*

As already noted, there is considerable circumstantial evidence to suggest that Luwian was spoken over large areas of western, south central and southeastern Anatolia. This material includes the location of HLuwian inscriptions (see Map 4, p. 142), the designated homelands of authors of Luwian rituals in cuneiform found in Hattusa (both those containing passages in Luwian and those with isolated Luwianisms), and the personal names of various inhabitants of countries located in western and southern Anatolia. One must of course use the last-named evidence with due caution. Personal names may be chosen for a variety of reasons, and they do not always correlate with language use or ethnicity. Most of the persons cited in our texts also belong to the ruling class. However, in the absence of any indications to the contrary, we may reasonably infer a significant Luwian presence in these areas.

Most Anatolian place-names cannot be assigned to a given language with any reliability, but there are some important exceptions. The place-name †Dainis (= Ἐλαία) for the port city at the mouth of the Caicos River argues that the Luwian speech area extended at least that far to the northwest.[4] Whether Luwian was spoken in the far northwest (notably in the region of the Troad) remains an open question. The recent discovery of a hieroglyphic seal in Troy is suggestive, but far from conclusive (see the cautious stance of Neumann 2001 47f). The fact that the oldest form of the name for Wilusa (= Troy) known to

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[3] Starke (1997a 457 with n. 103 et aliter) assumes that *Pa-la-a* is already to be read as /Pla:/. This may well be true, but a later syncope in Blaene cannot be excluded.

[4] See Starke (1997a 457) following Neumann apud Gusmani (1986 162), but the Luwian word for 'oil' is derived from a preform cognate with Hittite *šakan-* 'oil, fat' (see p. 184 in this volume). It is important to stress that the unusual characteristic sound change of initial **s-* > *d-* assures us that we dealing here with Luwian in the strict narrow sense, not merely a language related to Luwian.

the Hittites is *Wilušiya-*, a Luwian formation, also does not strictly prove that the inhabitants themselves spoke Luwian (see Starke 1997a 458f).[5] Contra Starke (2001 40) the adaptation of the Greek name Alexander as a *u*-stem in the name of the King of Wilusa Alaksandu is at least as compatible with Lydian as it is with Luwian. Likewise there is nothing definitively Luwian in the form of the names of the other two known kings of Wilusa, Kukkunni and Walmu (in contrast to those of other western Anatolian kingdoms—see the table in Starke 2001 37). Current evidence thus also allows for the possibility of a related, but distinct Indo-European language in Wilusa/Troy in the second millennium (see Neumann 2001 46 and cf. also the discussion by Stefanini 2002 798ff). We may hope that new evidence will soon be able to decide this issue.

It is also impossible to determine just how far the Luwian speech area extended to the southeast at various times. It seems certain that Luwian was present in Kizzuwatna by the Old Hittite period, and it was likely already there several centuries earlier. Just when and to what extent Luwian penetrated as a spoken language into regions of present-day Syria remains debatable. Significant Luwian presence seems highly probable for the five centuries or so following the fall of the Hittite Empire at the end of the 13th century. To what extent this reflects relatively recent movements and to what extent it continues traditions reaching well back into the Empire period is unknowable.

Also problematic is the status of Luwian in central Anatolia, in particular in the Hittite capital Hattusa. In addressing this question, we must avoid misconceptions and critically evaluate the different sorts of evidence cited. One occasionally reads the claim that Hittite was by the time of our records a purely written 'chancellery' language, while Luwian was the spoken language of Hattusa (e.g. Rosenkranz 1938 280ff). There is no sound basis for this assertion. First of all, we must be very clear on one point: we have no *direct* knowledge of the *spoken* form of any of the Indo-European Anatolian languages, including Luwian. With rare exceptions (the ASSUR letters and the KULULU lead strips), our HLuwian texts are fully as literary as anything we have in Hittite (see the proper appreciation by Cancik 2002b). Likewise, the Luwian ritual texts in cuneiform. On

[5] Starke's attempt to analyze the name Wilusa itself as Luwian is pure speculation. If the apparent alternation *Wiluš(š)a* is real, it suggests adaptation of a non-IE name. The alleged 'lenition' of Luwian /ss/ in Hittite does not exist!

the other hand, the changes in Hittite during the more than three centuries of its attestation are more than is consonant with a purely written language (likewise Steiner 1990 201 with refs). A few examples of Hittite colloquialisms also crop up in our essentially bureaucatic texts: see Melchert (1996 135) on *ḫulalittat* 'it has been wrapped up' for *taruptat* 'it has been finished' in IBoT 1.36 iii 54 and Hoffner (to appear) on *peššiyanun* 'I bagged', a hunter's usage applied to enemy troops, in HKM 10, 39-41.[6] A simplistic opposition between written Hittite and spoken Luwian is an entirely artificial construct (cf. also the useful remarks of Stefanini 2002 783f).

The fact that late Hittite kings wrote their monumental public inscriptions in HLuwian is also irrelevant for the question of Luwian as a spoken language in Hattusa. This usage may be culturally determined (cf. the remarks of Hawkins 2000 2f). To infer from such a practice that the population of Hattusa spoke Luwian would be comparable to inferring that citizens of Washington D.C. speak Latin because of the use of the latter in public monumental inscriptions in that city.

Of much more significance are the effects of Luwian on Hittite. As shown by Starke (1990 passim) and to be discussed in detail below, Luwian influence on Hittite begins in the prehistoric period. Luwian loanwords are already present in our oldest attested Hittite. Such loanwords, however, are fully adapted to Hittite patterns. Thus far there is no evidence for Luwian words with Luwian inflection in Hittite contexts before the Middle Hittite period, and such forms become common only with the reign of Mursili II towards the end of 14th century. Likewise confusion of *a*-stem and *i*-stem inflection due to the Luwian pattern of '*ī*-mutation' begins only in the Middle Hittite period (see Rieken 1994 42-50 and below p. 187f) and increases thereafter. Our almost total ignorance of the true sociolinguistic situation in Hattusa and in the Hittite Empire as a whole bids caution in drawing conclusions from these facts. Nevertheless, the prehistoric effects of Luwian on Hittite are consistent with close cultural contact, while the later features suggest (though they certainly do not prove) the presence of substantial numbers of Luwian speakers. A gradually increasing Luwian presence in Hattusa and in central Anatolia more generally during the period of the Hittite Empire

[6] See also the cogent remarks of Laroche (1959 13) with his reference to a private Hittite document from Ras Shamra.

seems at least compatible with what we know of historical developments during that time.[7]

3.3 *Lycian and Carian*

Lycian clearly is more closely related to Luwian than to any other language of the Anatolian subfamily (see the discussion in Chapter Five below, p. 175ff). What we know of Carian points to a similar conclusion. The YALBURT HLuwian inscription now shows that there is considerable continuity in settlements in Lycia from the second to the first millennium (see Poetto 1993 77f). The absence thus far of archaeological evidence for Bronze Age settlements in Lycia may be explained in any number of ways. While we cannot exclude the possibility that the precursors of the speakers of Lycian and Carian moved south from northwestern Anatolia only at the end of the second millennium, absolutely nothing supports such an assumption. All that we now know argues rather that pre-Lycian and pre-Carian speech communities were located in the southwest already in the second millennium and probably by the end of the third.

This statement emphatically is not meant to claim that these speakers necessarily already occupied the territories of later classical Caria and Lycia. While we should not place undue weight on the resemblance of the designation *Lukka* in the Hittite texts to the classical name Lycaonia as well as to Lycia, we should also be careful not to discount it entirely (see the careful review of the problem by Carruba 1996 29ff).[8] We must also not forget the direct evidence for linguistic diversity within Lycia. As argued by Borchhardt (1998 158f), the dynasty of Harpagos is intrusive to Xanthos and western Lycia, and its members bring with them the Milyan (Lycian B) dialect. Borchhardt proposes central Lycia as their immediate seat of power, but tentatively follows Carruba in seeing the center of Milyan as farther to the north and east. Be that as it may, what is to be retained for our immediate purposes is the likelihood of significant local population movements within the area of the southwest.

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[7] There are also clear examples of Luwian place-names in central Anatolia: see the discussion in Poetto (1999) with references (reference thanks to N. Oettinger).

[8] However, one must with Starke (1997a 475[97]) reject the repetition by Carruba (1996 28 & 37) of the derivation of the name *Luwiya* from *Lukka*. Only voiced **g*, not voiceless **k*, is lost in Luwian. The two names, both undoubtedly non-Indo-European, have *nothing* to do with each other.

It would be surprising if there were not similar developments at an earlier stage, but the distance and direction of such movements cannot be determined.[9] We can therefore be no more precise for the prestages of Lycian and Carian than 'somewhere in the southwest', and their positioning on Map 1 is meant only as a gross approximation.

3.4 *Hittite (Nesite)*

Hittite, the chief administrative language of the Hittite Empire, was designated by its own users as *neš(umn)ili/našili* 'of (the city) Nesa', i.e. Kanesh. However, use of the name Hittite for this language is by now too well established to be changed in favor of the more correct Nesite. There is no reason to doubt that Hittite was a spoken language for at least some of the ruling class, first in Nesa and later in Hattusa, to the end of the Hittite Empire (cf. section 3.2 above). The fact that the personal portions of letters found at the northeastern outpost of Maşat are also in Hittite confirms that officials stationed throughout the Empire used Hittite for everyday purposes, as we would have predicted. As in the case of Luwian, we can only guess at the extent to which Hittite was used among the general population, both in Hattusa and elsewhere (cf. the very interesting remarks of Steiner 1981 161ff).

The standard view is that the speakers of the Indo-European dialect that led to attested Hittite settled in north central Anatolia, in the area enclosed by the broad arc of the Halys River, and in areas to its immediate south and west (see e.g. the formulation of Neumann 2001 46). This scenario is based on the widespread premise that Hattic, the non-Indo-European language of that area, had significant 'substrate' effects on Hittite, while Hattic culture permeated all aspects of

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[9] There may be still other hints that at least some historical Lycians have external connections. The repeated attempts to derive the personal name *Xerẽi* from the PIE word for 'eagle' (e.g. Starke 1990 76) face insuperable phonological and morphological obstacles. Lycian *x-* cannot continue PIE $*h_3$- (see Kimball 1987). The name *Xerẽi* can hardly be separated from *Xa/eriga*, but it is not credible that Lycian alone in all of Indo-European preserves a form of 'eagle' that is not based on an *n*-stem. One should take seriously the possibility that the element *Xa/er-* of these names is the same as that of the name for Caria. *Xerẽi* and *Xa/eriga* would be etymologically merely '(the) Carian'. Such an identification does not, of course, require that we assume that the historical bearers of these names were themselves from Caria, nor even that they were conscious of the names' original meaning. It would nevertheless point to some sort of Carian element in their background.

Hittite society. In reality, however, this supposed impact of Hattic on Hittite language and institutions has been consistently overestimated (most recently by Stefanini 2002 789ff), and the *prehistoric* influence of Luwian on Hittite seriously underestimated. It is time to redress this imbalance.

We may begin with language. There are *no* convincing examples of direct Hattic influence on Hittite morphology. The alleged derivation of the Hittite pronominal genitive ending *-ēl* from the Hattic derivational suffix *-il-* is phonologically impossible (the Hittite result of Hattic *-i-* is *-i-*, as shown by the genuine examples of the personal names *Ḫattušīli-* and *Muršīli-*).[10] On the other hand, we already find in Old Hittite the derivational suffixes *-alla-* and *-alli-* borrowed from Luwian, as in *ḫurtiyalla-* 'basin' (or sim.) and *zuppariyalli-* 'torch-bearer' (see Melchert 2002c).[11] Likewise, as per Oettinger (1986), the Hittite derivational suffix *-at(t)alla-* (as in OH *palwattalla-* 'clapper') is created by reanalysis of the Luwian suffix *-alla/ī-*. The peculiar allomorph *-(i)yai-* in Hittite verbs in *-(i)ye/a-* (already attested in OH *urkiyaizzi*!) is also due to Luwian influence (Oettinger 1979b 382ff and Melchert 2002c).

Oettinger (2002 54) has suggested that indirect Hattic influence appears in the structure of Hittite personal names of the Assyrian colony period, which make heavy use of terms of relationship (*Šuppia-ḫšu* 'offspring of the pure one', *Šuppia-niga* 'sister of the pure one') and of an ethnic suffix (*Šuppi-uman* 'of the pure one').[12] Hattic influence is quite possible, but similar structures are also found in Luwian and Lycian personal names (see Houwink ten Cate 1961 139ff & 180f), where Hattic influence is unlikely, and such naming patterns are typologically trivial (cf. Laroche 1966 300). Note also that the form of *-ḫšu-* 'offspring' is specifically Luwian (cf.

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[10] For the real Indo-European source of *-ēl* see Oettinger (1999 264 with refs.). Contra Kronasser (1966 216) the Hittite adverbial suffix *-ili* in expressions like *luwili* 'in Luwian' is also merely the nominative-accusative neuter plural of the adjectival suffix *-ili-* (as in *karuwili-* 'ancient'), a suffix borrowed from Luwian: cf. *dammil(i)-* 'virgin, uncultivated'. Hattic *-il-* occurs in Hittite only in personal names and a few lexical borrowings such as ^{LÚ}*šaḫtarili-*, a type of cult singer or musician.

[11] Contra Tischler (1998 678 with n. 8) Hattic is not the source of *-alla-*. Hittite ^{LÚ}*duddušḫiyalla-* is an *adaptation* of Hattic ^{LÚ}*duddušḫiyal-*, as shown by the geminate *-ll-*, which does not appear in true Hattic loanwords.

[12] Tischler (1998 678) suggests that a number of Hittite titles may be calques on Hattic. This is quite plausible, but our very limited knowledge of Hattic makes the proposal impossible to verify.

HLuwian (NEPOS)*ha-su-* 'progeny, descendant' and also Lycian *xahba-* 'grand-son'). The Hittite word is *ḫašša-*, an *a*-stem.[13]

Turning to the lexicon, we may begin by dispelling the persistent myth that Hittite has replaced much of its inherited Indo-European vocabulary. Hittite core vocabulary remains Indo-European: see the detailed analysis of Tischler (1979) with references and the cogent remarks of Neumann (2001 49). There is no doubt that the Hittites took over the names for some flora and fauna of Anatolia from other languages—we have no assurance, however, that Hattic was the only such source. The dominant role of Hattic elements in Old Hittite religion and cult and ideology of kingship is undeniable, and we would expect to find reflexes of this in the associated terminology. Nevertheless, the current number of *assured* Hattic loanwords in Hittite is less than thirty.[14] This figure is not significantly higher than that of Luwian loanwords in Old and Middle Hittite manuscripts of Old Hittite texts (see Melchert 2002c). The true number of Hattic borrowings into Hittite is surely far greater. The scarcity of solid examples is due to our sparse evidence for Hattic itself and limited understanding of what little we do have. The same remark applies, however, to Luwian, where we face the further problem of distinguishing borrowings from cognates and of dating the loans.

There has also been an unfortunate tendency to attribute Hittite lexical items to a Hattic source based on nothing more than their sole or frequent occurrence in texts relating to the Hattic cult. Such an argument is likely valid for a number of cases (e.g. ^{É}*ḫalent(i)u-* 'palace'), but the risks of relying on it too heavily are shown by an example like *ērḫui(t)-* 'basket'. The word does in fact occur in Old Hittite rituals with Hattic cult elements, and side by side with the Hattic loanword ^{GIŠ}*tuḫupzi-* (e.g. KBo 16.71+ i 22), but Starke (1990 198ff) has shown that the word is borrowed from Luwian (contra Friedrich-Kammenhuber 1988 92). Likewise, the arguments of Weitenberg (1984 237ff) for the Hattic origin of several words require reassessment. The inflection of ^{NINDA}*ḫarzazun~ḫarzazut-* 'bread-soup,

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[13] It is of course possible that a genuine pre-Hittite **ḫaššu-* 'offspring' was preserved only in compound names, having been ousted by *ḫašša-* as the free form.

[14] For one recent collection see Tischler (1998 679f), but not all of the examples he cites are genuine. On *tawananna-* see below. For Luwian(!) *paḫḫit-* see Starke (1990 208). Luwian *wašḫay(a)-* 'sacred' (with Lycian cognate *wasaza-*) certainly is not Hattic!

ribollita' shows that it is also a Luwian loanword: cf. CLuwian *ḫīrūn~ḫīrūt-* 'oath'. The words $^{(É)}$*arkiw(it)-* 'canopy' and *ḫazziw(it)-* 'rite' also show evidence of Luwian morphology: see Melchert (1993a 28) and Starke (1990 181ff). These two examples highlight a further aspect of the overall problem. It is implausible to suppose a Hattic origin for Luwian words shared with Lycian, but we can by no means exclude contact between Hattians and Luwians. We must therefore consider the possibility of parallel loans from Hattic into Hittite and Luwian or even from Hattic through Luwian into Hittite.

The most egregious case of overly precipitous misattribution of Hittite words to Hattic is that of the royal titles for the king and queen, *t/labarna-* and *tawananna-*. No advocate of their Hattic origin has ever been able to provide any remotely satisfactory account of their meaning or morphology in Hattic terms (see the just remarks of Tischler 1990 39 and 1993 285).[15] The only evidence for a Hattic source is their occurrence in Hattic texts, and allegedly the word-initial alternation *t/l-*. As correctly stressed by Puhvel (1989 359), the mere appearance of *Hittite* royal titles in Hattic contexts proves absolutely nothing about the words' origin. Once they became royal titles, they would necessarily have occurred in any text referring to the royal couple, regardless of the language.[16]

As to the initial alternation *t/l-*, this feature actually argues decisively against Hattic origin, as seen by Carruba (1986 203f). We have a dozen true loanwords from Hattic with an initial dental stop, and *none* shows any such alternation. Nor do any of the names of the Hattic deities with initial *T/D-* appearing in Hittite context, while the name of Lelwani shows only *L-*. The likely reason for this is that Hattic had only voiceless/fortis stops (see Kammenhuber 1969 448).

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[15] This applies also to the new proposal of Schuster cited by Tischler (1990 39). Even if one concedes the quite speculative morphological analysis (but cf. already Carruba 1986 205), there is no Hattic source for the base of *tawananna-*, and a connection of *tabarna-* with a Hattic *b/var* is excluded by the spelling of the former, which never shows an alternation *wa/pa* or spelling with the sign wa_a.

[16] The 'argument' of Klinger (1996 209) that *tabarna-* must be Hattic because there it shows no alternation simply makes no sense. The word also appears in Palaic only in the form *tabarna-*, but he does not assume for that reason that it is native there. In any case, his *assumption* of an original Hattic form *tabarna-* leaves him with no explanation for the appearance of *labarna-* except the totally ad hoc appeal to a personal name of unknown origin with no original connection to *tabarna-*.

On the other hand, we have evidence to suggest that word-initial voiced stops were devoiced in the individual prehistories of the Indo-European Anatolian languages (Melchert 1994 18ff with refs.). We may thus assume that a Luwian **dabarna-* was borrowed as Hittite *labarna-* at a prehistoric stage when Hittite no longer had initial voiced *d-* (for at least one other example see p. 181 below). The Hittite word was later (but still prehistorically) altered to *tabarna-* by association with the Luwian verb *tapar(iya)-* 'to rule' after *d-* had also been devoiced to *t-* in Luwian.[17]

The Luwian base **tapar-* 'powerful' (or sim.) reflects an adjective **dh$_e$b-ro-* for which one may compare MHG *tapfer* 'massive, firm' also 'brave'.[18] For the development to **tapar-* see Melchert (1993b). From this adjective was formed the denominative verb *tapariya-* *'to be powerful' > 'to rule' (cf. Eichner 1975 81[5] and Starke 1990 259). The verbal stem *tapar-* is a back-formation (for the process see Melchert 1997a 87f). As per Oettinger (1986b 21), a substantivized **dapar-* 'power' (cf. CLuwian *waššar-* 'favor') is the base of *tabarna-* in turn again '(the) powerful (one)'.[19] As seen by Starke (1983 406), The derivation of *tabarna-* from **tapar-* is entirely parallel to that of **immarna-* '(deity) of the open country' < **immar-* 'open country' (attested in the substantivized adjective ^{d}*Immarniya-* 'deity of the open country'). On the suffix *-na-* see immediately below.

Puhvel (1989 360) plausibly compares the suffix *-nna-* of *tawananna-* with the PIE 'ruler' suffix seen in Latin *Matrōna* and

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[17] The frequent spelling of the word with the sign *ba*, sometimes cited as an indicator of 'substrate' origin, in no way excludes a Luwian source. Starke (1983 406) correctly compares *u-ba-ti-* 'land-grant', a certain Luwian loanword in Hittite. As noted by Carruba (1986 203), the use of *ba* argues against Hattic origin.

[18] Previous formulations of this etymology (see the references in Tischler 1991 118) cite Latin *faber* 'craftsman' as well as MHG *tapfer* and sometimes give the pre-form as **dhabhro-*. However, *tapfer* demands PIE **b*, and the earliest attestations point to a physical quality. This is surely the source of the Luwian: cf. Hittite *dašš̌u-* 'mighty' < **dénsu-* 'massive, thick' and for the development of the verb from *'be strong' to 'to rule' cf. OHG *waltan*, OCS *vlasti* etc. 'to rule' beside Latin *ualeō* 'be strong'. Strength, not craftmanship, was the defining quality of the Hittite king. Latin *faber* and Armenian *darbin* 'smith' (the latter can only reflect **bh*) should be kept separate.

[19] We may leave open the much-debated question regarding the priority of the use as personal name or title, both of which are trivial from an appellative meaning '(the) powerful (one)'.

Neptūnus.[20] Also correct is his adduction of the Hittite adverb *tāwana*, but the assigned meaning 'well' and comparison with Latin *bonus* cannot be upheld. The adverb means rather 'truly, honestly', a moral sense derived from 'upright, straight', as shown by the derived noun *tāwani-* 'stalk, stem' (Melchert 1999 367). The queen is thus '(the) righteous (one)', a fitting pendant for the king's epithet '(the) powerful (one)'.[21] The phonology of *tāwana-* with loss of $*h_2$ before *w* shows that the word is Luwian in origin: for the phonology see p. 180 below and for derivation from a **(s)téh₂wen(o)-* see Southern (2000 104).

The titles of both the Hittite king and queen are thus Luwian, while that of the crown-prince ^{LÚ}*ta/uḫ(u)kanti-* and the word for 'throne' *ḫalmaššuitt-* are Hattic (see Klinger 1996 220ff and 162ff). We should not be surprised by this mix. Likewise *telipuri-* '(administrative) district' is from Hattic, while *ubati-* 'land-grant, demesne' is from Luwian (Klinger 1996 200). Such a fusion of Hattic and Luwian elements appears more generally in Hittite notions of kingship. The concept that the king receives his authority from the Storm-god, Sun-goddess, and Throne (*ḫalmaššuitt-*) is certainly taken from Hattic (Klinger 1996 134-141). Likewise the special role of the mountains in protecting the Hittite kingdom (Lombardi 1996). On the other hand, the list of desiderata given by Telipinu to the Hittite king (KUB 17.10 iv 29ff with parallel 33.12 iv 2ff) includes two pairs of Luwian loanwords: *šalḫittiš mannittiš* and *nūš tummantiyaš*. The sense of the first pair still eludes us, but the second means 'assent (and) obedience'.[22] The ideal of a well-ordered kingdom is thus expressed in Luwian already in an Old Hittite composition whose overall milieu is clearly Hattic.

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[20] The parallel with *tawananna-* and the name of the Storm-god *Tarḫunna-*, both with geminate *-nn-* after vowel, suggests that the suffix in both *tabarna-* and **immarna-* is also ultimately **-h₃no-* (thus implicitly Puhvel; cf. Bader 1988 186 et aliter). On the further history of this suffix see most recently Pinault (2000).

[21] For arguments against Puhvel's claim that *tawanannna-* originally referred to the king's daughter and for *tawananna-* as at all times a title of the queen see Klinger (1996 213-219).

[22] The sense 'assent, compliance' for *nū-* is shown by the passage KBo 11.14 iv 7-8 and its parallel KUB 57.79 iv 31-33 (see Güterbock and Hoffner 1980-89 477). Luwian *tummantiya-* matches Hittite *ištamaššuwar* 'obedience' (Puhvel 1984 459 with refs).

A full discussion of Hattic and Luwian elements in Hittite religion is impossible here. That Luwian as well as Hattic influence appears already in the Old Hittite cult is indisputable: see the discussion of the goddess Kamrusepa by Klinger (1996 156ff).[23] However, the fact that Luwian and Hittite share a common tradition precludes any simplistic confrontation of Luwian versus Hattic in this sphere. The Storm-god who gives the Hittite king his royal authority is Hattic, but his name *Tarḫunna-* is not, and the existence of Luwian *Tarḫunt-* ~*Tarḫunza-* and Lycian *Trqqñt-* shows that the figure of the Storm-god belongs already to Indo-European Proto-Anatolian. The formation of the 'Hittite' state cult (on the problem of its definition see Klinger 1996 15) remains an object of investigation. As in the case of the relationship of the Hittite language to Proto-Indo-European, the issue must be treated in the overall context of 'Indo-Europeans' in Anatolia, not merely 'Hittite' versus Hattic.

Klinger (1996 16f with n. 41, 93, 140, 198 with n. 287) argues eloquently against claims that early Hittite texts attest 'confrontation' between Indo-European newcomers and Hattians and more generally against the popular model of imposition of an Indo-European upper or ruling class on a native Hattic population (for independent arguments against such a conception see Steiner 1981 166f and cf. also Bryce 1998 15). What evidence we have points rather to a long-term assimilation (Oettinger 2002 51). The linguistic facts cited above argue not for Hattic as an exclusive 'substrate' of Hittite, but rather for 'adstrate' effects on Hittite from both Hattic and Luwian. We are thus led to a scenario by which the speakers of the prehistoric dialect that became Hittite were located not in north central Anatolia, but in an area *between* the Hattians to the north and the pre-Luwian population to the south and west. This means roughly in a band of territory stretching from the southwest to the northeast along the upper course of the Halys, centering on Nesa/Kanesh, the *only* site for which we

[23] Contra Klinger (1996 157^{119}) and Taracha (2000 179^{62}) linguistic archaisms assure that the rituals of KUB 7.1+ date to Old Hittite. The provocative claim of Taracha that the Sun-goddess of Earth is of southern Anatolian origin and that the Old Hittite Sun-god of Heaven is to be equated with Luwian *Tiwad-* may be left for discussion.

have direct evidence for a strong early presence of Hittite speakers (see Map 1).[24]

This largely linguistic result matches well those reached by Singer (1981 124ff) and Steiner (1981 169ff and 1990 200) on wholly independent grounds. Unfortunately, one must concede that no consensus has yet been reached regarding the localization of Kussara and Sana-(h)witta, two cities crucial in the history of the rise of the Hittite kingdom. Some scholars do place both in the territory defined above (e.g. Klengel 1999 32), but others put one or both farther north in Hatti (cf. Bryce 1998 xvi, Starke 2002 302). It does seem fair to say that the location suggested here for the Hittites at the turn from the third to the second millennium is a viable hypothesis.

3.5 *Lydian*

The whereabouts of pre-Lydian speakers at the end of the third millennium remains a matter of conjecture. Circumstantial evidence suggests that classical Lydia was Luwian-speaking in the second millennium (see 3.2 above and cf. Starke 1997a 457), though evidence for possible Luwian 'substrate' influence on Lydian remains sparse (see the cautious summary by Carruba 1961 403ff). While Lydian shares some common innovations with other western Anatolian dialects (see the summary in Melchert 2002b),[25] its mostly divergent development points to relative isolation. These combined factors lead to a tentative location in northwest Anatolia in classical Maionia or Bithynia (similarly Starke 1997a 457 and 1997b 384 with note 10 and Oettinger 2002 52; for a contrary view see Stefanini 2002 798). Confirmation of this conclusion drawn largely by a process of elimination must await further research.

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[24] Norbert Oettinger (pers. comm.) points out that the near certain adoption by the Hittites of the Old Babylonian script via a northern Syrian intermediary also suggests that the Hittites' position at the start of the second millennium was relatively closer to Syria than that of the Hattians (cf. the similar comments by Neu 1968 134). On the origin of the Hittite script see among others Gamkrelidze (1961).

[25] However, one feature cited there should be deleted. Schürr (1997) has presented persuasive arguments that Lydian does not share in the generalization of the animate nominative plural in **-Vnsi*.

4. *Indo-European Speakers in Anatolia: when and from where?*

Linguistic arguments provide an approximate *terminus ante* and *post quem* for the appearance of Indo-European speakers in Anatolia. On the one hand, the Assyrian colony texts attest both appellatives and names reflecting already distinctively evolved Luwian and Hittite: *upatinnum* < Luwian *upati-* 'land-grant' and *Zida-* and *Ḫutarla-* < Luwian *zida/ī-* 'man' and *ḫutarlā-* 'servant' vs. *išpattalu-* 'night-quarters' < Hittite *išpant-* 'night' and *Šuppiuman-* < Hittite *šuppi-* 'pure' and ethnic suffix *-uman-*. See Tischler (1995), Carruba (1995a 30f), Starke (1997a 457), Oettinger (2002 52) and others contra MacQueen (1996 31). We do not control the rate of language change with precision, but one can only agree with Carruba and Oettinger that the stage of Proto-Anatolian must precede our earliest attested evidence by at least half a millennium, and in all likelihood by considerably more than that.[26]

On the other hand, we may emphatically reject the claim of Renfrew (1987 et aliter) for Indo-European speakers in Anatolia since 7000 BCE. For recent arguments against Renfrew's model see Darden (2001). The virtually complete absence of evidence for linguistic contact between Proto-Indo-European or Proto-Anatolian and the known ancient languages of the area (Hattic, Akkadian, and Sumerian) also precludes an Indo-European linguistic continuity in Anatolia of five thousand years (pace Renfrew 2001 54). The same objection applies to the proposal of Gamkrelidze-Ivanov (1995 791) that the center of the PIE speech community was in eastern Anatolia.[27] There is no basis for abandoning the standard view that Indo-European speakers are intrusive to Anatolia. Darden (2001 204) presents arguments for the end of the fifth millennium or the fourth

[26] It is important to bear in mind that we must allow not only for a time of relative isolation of the pre-Luwian and pre-Hittite speakers that led to their divergence as distinct languages, but also for a subsequent period of contact during which Luwian influenced Hittite. The degree of difference between the earliest attested Luwian and Hittite precludes the scenario of MacQueen (1996 30) by which the Hittites separated from the Luwians by moving north and east only shortly before the colony period.

[27] Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995 769ff) do indeed claim a significant number of Semitic and Sumerian loanwords in PIE, but most of these do not withstand close scrutiny. Given what we now know about long-distance trade at least as early as the third millennium (see e.g. Korfmann 2001), the few genuine examples are compatible with location of the PIE speech community north or west of the Black Sea.

millennium as a terminus post quem for a PIE speech community that includes Anatolian. Lehrman (2001 116) arrives at a similar date of 4000 BCE.

At this point the limitations of linguistic evidence come into full force. Lehrman proposes a tentative date of 3000 BCE for the last stage of unified Proto-Anatolian, a choice that plausibly allows about a millennium for both the development from PIE to PA and from PA to the first attested Anatolian languages. Carruba (1995a 31) arrives at a similar date of 3000-2800 for PA. However, nothing precludes that the evolution from PIE to PA took longer than that from PA to the attested languages—or vice versa. A further element of uncertainty is introduced by the fact that we cannot be sure of the manner in which the differentiation of Proto-Anatolian from PIE or that of the individual attested languages from Proto-Anatolian took place. One reasonable scenario is that a group of PIE speakers isolated themselves by moving into Anatolia. After a period of relative unity during which the language developed the characteristic set of features by which we define Proto-Anatolian, speakers dispersed across Anatolia with the resulting divergence into the attested languages of the early second millennium (thus e.g. Oettinger 2002 52). However, we cannot entirely exclude the alternative model of Steiner (1990 202f): the isolation that led to the development of Proto-Anatolian took place outside Anatolia (in the Balkans, e.g.), and entry into Anatolia took place in several successive waves (the objections to this scenario by Stefanini 2002 786 are overstated). According to this view some of the differences between the attested languages are correlated with the movement into Anatolia, while others develop as part of the dispersal within Anatolia.[28]

Plausible locations for the PIE speech community range from Eastern Europe and the Balkans to the region of the southern Volga. We cannot determine on linguistic grounds alone whether entry into Anatolia was from the northwest or the northeast. Steiner (1981 169) argues that the attested location of the Anatolian IE languages, the presence of non-Indo-European languages in northern and eastern Anatolia, and the evidence for movement of the Luwians from west

[28] Oettinger and likewise Bryce (1998 14) argue that the earliest forms of Hittite, Luwian and Palaic are close enough to disprove successive waves of migration, but it is far from clear that such movements only a few centuries apart would have led to a radically different result in the attested languages.

to east point to entry from the (north)west. But if one assumes that the movement into Anatolia was a full millennium before our first records (as does Steiner), it seems hard to exclude the possibility that all traces of an early migration from east to west have simply been obliterated (or not yet discovered). That the Luwians *subsequently* moved from a western base south and east does not logically require that prior movements followed the same trajectory. An entry from the northwest does seem most plausible, but one would like to have corroboration, e.g. in the form of common innovations shared by Anatolian with western Indo-European dialects. The proposals of Puhvel (1994 et aliter) in this regard are at present merely suggestive, not yet compelling.[29]

Trying to correlate the linguistic developments and supposed population movements just described with changes in prehistoric cultures reflected in the archaeological record is a parlous enterprise. There does seem to be broad agreement that there is a high degree of cultural continuity in Anatolia from the Early through the Middle Bronze Age with relatively little evidence of 'destruction layers': see among others Yakar (1981) and Mellaart (1981).

To this extent the archaeological findings agree with the conclusions reached above on linguistic grounds in pointing to a relatively long and slow infiltration and acculturation rather than 'invasion' or 'conquest' and the imposition of a ruling class of Indo-Europeans on pre-existing populations (such as the Hattians). Mellaart (1981 137ff) suggests a date as early as 3500 BCE for entry of Indo-European speakers into Anatolia (cf. also Yakar 1981 96). Steiner (1981 169), for whom the differentiation of Luwian and Hittite begins outside Anatolia (see above) allows for a somewhat later date, but still

[29] On the other hand, the arguments of Stefanini (2002 788) for an entry from the northeast are invalid. The affinities linking Anatolian and Tocharian (some of which are also shared with western IE dialects) can all thus far be interpreted as archaisms and thus retentions by peripheral dialects. They offer no evidence for an alleged common eastward movement of pre-Tocharian and pre-Anatolian speakers. There is also no credible evidence for substrate influence of Caucasian languages on Proto-Anatolian, which is the only issue here. Possible later influence of Hattic and Hurrian specifically on Hittite is irrelevant to the question of the entry of IE speakers into Anatolia. Certainly false is Stefanini's claim (2002 786 n. 4) that a majority of linguists believe in a northeastern entry.

assumes that the Hittites have been 'in Anatolia for at least one millennium' (1990 204).[30]

Note that such dates for initial entry of Indo-Europeans into Anatolia permit later signs of apparent west-to-east movement (see Mellaart 1981 145, Steiner 1981 169, and MacQueen 1996 27) to be interpreted as further movement *within* Anatolia by the pre-Luwians. One should probably be careful in pressing too far the contrast of small groups of 'peaceable' pre-Hittites with larger numbers of more aggressive and 'restless' pre-Luwians (cf. Steiner 1990 202f). Nevertheless, the circumstantial evidence for the eventually much wider attestation of Luwian vis-à-vis Hittite and Palaic does lend some credence to this notion.

It is tempting to see the Demircihüyük culture described by Korfmann (2001 361ff) as associated with the arrival of Indo-Europeans in Anatolia (cf. the remarks of Yakar 1981 96 and Darden 2001 220). The dating to the second half of the fourth and first half of the third millennium would correlate reasonably with those proposed on linguistic criteria above. In this case one would accept Steiner's and others' proposal of entry from the Balkans across the Bosporus, arguably in the late fourth millennium. After a period of relative unity in the northwest pre-Hittite and pre-Palaic speakers would have moved off towards their later attested positions, while the pre-Luwians stayed behind, later to move south and west. The ultimate viability of such a scenario remains to be determined. For the present we must be satisfied with a more vague characterization: the pre-Luwians entered Anatolia along with or only slightly later than other Indo-European speakers, surely no later than in the first half of the third millennium. They then spread across extensive areas of western and southern Anatolia already in the second half of the third millennium. Just how far this expansion had proceeded we can only guess.

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[30] In which case the movement of the pre-Luwians *into* Anatolia cannot be much later (cf. note 28).

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY

TREVOR R. BRYCE

A. INTRODUCTION

By the end of the third millennium BCE, the populations of Anatolia included three groups who spoke Indo-European languages. Parts of central and eastern Anatolia were occupied by speakers of a language called Nesite, after the city of Nesa (Kanesh) which lay just south of the southern bend of the (modern) Kızıl Irmak river (Hittite Marassantiya, Classical Halys). The name adopted for the language points to a significant Indo-European presence in the city which during the pre-Hittite Assyrian Colony period became the nucleus of an empire extending through much of the eastern half of Anatolia.[1] Subsequently Nesite became the official language of the Hittite kingdom, reflecting the likely prominence, if not dominance, of Indo-European Nesite-speakers in the kingdom's political and social structure, at least during its early years. A second Indo-European group, the Palaians, were located to the northwest of the land of Hatti, within the region later known as Paphlagonia. In western and southern Anatolia, a third group of Indo-European peoples settled. We call them the Luwians.

The names we give these three groups are adopted from the terms used to identify their languages in the written records of the Hittites. Eight languages appear in the cuneiform archives of Hattusa, the Hittite capital. Those of Indo-European origin are identified by the terms *nešili*, *našili*, or *nišili* ((written) in the manner (i.e. the language) of Nesa), *palaumnili* (in the language of Palā), and *luwili* (in the language of Luwiya).[2] The Nesite-speaking group provided a

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[1] See e.g. Bryce (1998 36-42). The Assyrian Colony period extended from the twentieth to the eighteenth century.

[2] Houwink ten Cate (1995 267) notes that 'the earliest Luwian language material, as found in the archives of Hattusa, consists of 277 Luwian passages inserted into

core element in the population of the kingdom of Hatti, whose homeland territory lay in central Anatolia. Geographical locations for the other two groups have been broadly determined from the distribution of place-names, divine names, personal names, and occasional inscriptions (in the case of the Luwians) in their respective languages, supplemented by various references to them in the Hittite texts.

From where, and when, did these groups first appear in Anatolia? Much doubt still remains about their place or places of origin, the time or times of their arrival, and their movements after their arrival. Various proposals place their homeland in the east (eastern Anatolia, southern Caucasus, northern Mesopotamia), the north (southern Russia, north of the Black Sea), and the west (central Europe, the Balkans). Some scholars believe that the Luwians entered Anatolia early in the third millennium, with Nesite- and Palaic-speakers appearing towards the millennium's end. Other scholars reverse the order. Others again would argue for the incursions of an undifferentiated mass of Indo-European speakers during the course of the millennium, with dispersion taking place within Anatolia after their arrival. It has also been proposed that there was an Indo-European presence in Anatolia for at least several thousand years prior to the third millennium.[3]

While no firm conclusions can be reached on these matters, we can be more confident about where the Indo-European groups had principally settled by the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, in the seventeenth century BCE, when the foundations of the Hittite kingdom were being established in central Anatolia. By this time, Luwian-speaking groups had occupied extensive areas in the western half of Anatolia. Indeed a large part of western Anatolia very likely constituted the region referred to in early Hittite records as Luwiya. In the old version of the Hittite Laws,[4] clause 5 reads: 'If anyone kills a merchant, he shall pay 100 minas of silver...If it is in the lands of Luwiya or Palā, he shall pay the 100 minas of silver and also replace his goods. If it is in the Land of Hatti, he shall also bring the merchant himself for burial' (transl. Hoffner). Palā and Luwiya are

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Hittite festivals, rituals, and incantations, as well as of two unilingual letter fragments, one of which shares the tablet with a letter in Akkadian.'

[3] For a summary, with references, of the range of proposals relating to Indo-European settlement in Anatolia, see Bryce (1998 10-20).

[4] CTH 291, 292. The standard editions are those of Friedrich (1959), Hoffner (1997).

thus recognised as distinct entities, separate from the Land of Hatti but also somehow linked with it as no other region in Anatolia appears to be. This is reinforced by four other clauses in the Laws, which deal with cases of abduction. The clauses in question (19a, 19b, 20, 21) contain, respectively, the following stipulations: (1) a Luwian who abducts a free person from the Land of Hatti and takes him to Luwiya is liable to confiscation of his estate if the abductee's owner[5] identifies him; (2) a Hittite who abducts a Luwian in the land of Hatti and takes him to Luwiya is liable to pay six persons as recompense; (3) a Hittite who abducts from the land of Luwiya a male slave belonging to another Hittite and brings him to the land of Hatti is liable to a penalty of twelve shekels of silver; (4) anyone who abducts a male slave belonging to a Luwian from the land of Luwiya and brings him to Hatti will return the slave to its owner, with no compensatory payment.

Palā does not appear in these clauses and may well have lost its independence, for one reason or another, very early in the history of the Hittite kingdom. But references to Luwiya continue (for the time being), and although the full implications of the laws which refer to it are not altogether clear, there is evidently some affinity at this time between Hatti and Luwiya. Hittite merchants operate in Luwiya, other persons move freely between Hatti and Luwiya, and on the surface at least it appears that the inhabitants of Luwiya as well as of Hatti were subject to the provisions of the Hittite Laws (cf. Friedrich 1959 91; Hoffner 1997 171). The cases in question deal with crimes of abduction involving the crossing of territorial boundaries between Hatti and Luwiya. Such crimes, whether committed by Hittites against Luwians, either in Hatti or Luwiya, or by Luwians in Hittite territory were liable to legal retribution as specified in the Laws. This need not mean that Hatti exercised any form of political or administrative control over the region covered by the term Luwiya. Indeed it may not have done so, effectively, until well into the period of the Hittite New Kingdom (see below). Quite possibly the relevant clauses reflect in part an agreement between Hatti and its Luwian neighbours over appropriate action to be taken whenever an inhabitant of the one region committed an offence against an inhabitant of the other. Admittedly, the penalties for Luwian offenders seem harsher than those prescribed

[5] I.e. head of his household? See Hoffner (1997 30 n. 45).

for Hittites in these clauses. But without knowing the contexts in which these penalties and compensatory payments were formulated, or indeed whether they were consciously graded in relation to one another, we cannot determine what significance ought to be attached to the differences between them.[6]

Nevertheless, there clearly was a special relationship early in the Hittite kingdom between Hatti and Luwiya, one apparently not shared with other Anatolian peoples. This is suggested by the clauses referred to above as well as by clause 23 of the Laws which differentiates Luwiya from enemy territory: 'If a male slave runs away and goes to Luwiya, his owner shall pay six shekels of silver to whomever brings him back (23a). If a male slave runs away and goes into an enemy country, whoever brings him back shall keep him for himself' (23b) (transl. Hoffner). The relationship between Hatti and Luwiya may have had its origins in a period prior to the emergence of the Hittite Old Kingdom. It is tempting to assume that a common ethnic background played some part in this, particularly if the dispersion of the Indo-European groups who came to Anatolia occurred after their arrival. And indeed the linguistic affinities between Nesite and Luwian seem too close to allow the possibility that the speakers of these languages entered Anatolia in independent waves some centuries apart.

On the other hand, we should be wary of overestimating ethnicity as a factor in the relations between Hatti and Luwiya in the Hittite Old Kingdom. And we should almost certainly discard the notion that this kingdom began with the dominance of a distinct ethnic group of Indo-European origin who won supremacy over and imposed its authority upon an indigenous Hattian population. Nonetheless, the Indo-European Nesite language was the Hittite kingdom's official language, and there was undoubtedly a pronounced Indo-European element in the early kingdom, even if this became progressively attenuated in later years as the kingdom's population became increasingly multi-racial. Too, Luwian cultic texts had early been incorporated in Hattusa's corpus of religious texts, reflecting early cultural links between Hatti and Luwiya. And the closeness of the Hittite and Luwian languages must also have provided a practical inducement for closer relations between those who spoke these lan-

[6] Contrast Hoffner (2002c 187), who concludes that the weighting of the fines in favour of the Hittites indicates that Luwiya-Arzawa was under Hittite domination at the time of the drafting of the Laws.

guages than between Indo-European speakers and speakers of totally alien languages.

But what precisely are we to understand by the term 'Luwiya', as it is used in the early versions of the Hittite Laws? That it referred to a single political entity or an administratively unified territory like the kingdom of Hatti is most unlikely. Rather the term appears to have been used in a broad ethno-geographical sense (cf. Friedrich 1959 91), indicating a general region which was inhabited by peoples speaking a shared Indo-European language, but without precise territorial limits. In much the same way the term *Hurri* in Hittite texts was used to refer to the regions of northern Mesopotamia and parts of northern Syria with a predominantly Hurrian-speaking population. Out of both these regions monarchies and kingdoms would subsequently arise.

A great number of the Bronze Age settlements in western Anatolia were probably Luwian foundations, or re-foundations, like Apasa, predecessor of Classical Ephesos, Beycesultan,[7] and perhaps also Troy VI, the most impresssive of Troy's nine major levels. Outside the chief centres, much of the Luwian-speaking population must have been scattered through numerous small villages and farming communities, or else belonged to shifting pastoral groups. Indeed a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence probably characterized a large part of the Luwian population. This 'restless, expansive' people were undoubtedly the most populous of the Indo-European groups who settled in Anatolia, to judge from the large areas over which they spread during the course of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The migrations which led to their settlement in western Anatolia continued well into the second millennium. And by the middle of the millennium, Luwian-speaking groups had spread southwards and eastwards, occupying much of southern Anatolia, from the region of (Classical) Lycia in the west through (Classical) Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria, and Lycaonia to Cilicia in the east. From the Luwian areas of southern Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age several kingdoms or states came into being during the Hittite period. These included the kingdoms of Kizzuwatna, which contained both Hurrian and Luwian elements (see Haas and Wilhelm 1974 5f.), and Tarhuntassa, perhaps a more

[7] Hawkins (1998b 24) suggests that Beycesultan, situated on a branch of the upper Maeander, may have been the principal city of the land of Kuwaliya, which became attached to the Luwian kingdom of Mira.

exclusively Luwian state which was apparently created by the Hittite king Muwattalli II in the early thirteenth century.

In western Anatolia a country called Arzawa (old Hittite variant Arzawiya) makes its first appearance in Hittite texts in the reign of Hattusili I, the first Hittite king with whom written records of the Hittite world can be firmly associated. Its appearance is linked with the disappearance of the name Luwiya. Although the term *luwili* continued in use as a linguistic term, the ethno-geographical designation Luwiya apparently dropped out of use, being replaced in later versions of the Hittite Laws by the name Arzawa. The reason for the name-substitution is unclear, though the new term may reflect new political developments in the western Luwian regions and the emergence of states or kingdoms in these regions. More generally, it may indicate the emergence of a greater sense of collective identity and more precise territorial consciousness amongst the Luwian groups to whom it applied.

As we shall see, Arzawa was a general term used to cover a complex of territories collectively known as the Arzawa Lands. In its broadest sense Arzawa probably extended over much of the territory previously called Luwiya, and incorporated many of the same population groups. Yet we should not think of Arzawa as either comprehensively or exclusively Luwian. On the one hand we have the names of a number of communities, towns and countries of western Anatolia which lay outside the Arzawa complex, many of which may have had Luwian-speaking inhabitants. On the other hand, the populations of the Arzawa Lands may well have included significant numbers of non-Luwian-speaking peoples.[8] Place-names are not necessarily a reliable guide to the ethnic composition of the populations of the places so called. Earlier place-names can be retained by newcomers. Later intrusive place-names can supplant indigenous names, even in regions where indigenous population elements continue to predominate.

Our understanding of Indo-European settlement in central Anatolia is that whenever it occurred the settlers encountered and gradually mingled with an indigenous people whom we call the Hattians. Many

[8] Although the known onomastic elements of the Arzawa Lands are almost entirely Luwian (see Laroche 1959 10), the names so attested belong almost entirely to members of the ruling class or administrative elite and may not provide a representative cross-section of the population as a whole.

elements of the Hattian culture were absorbed within the Hittite civilization. Western and southern Anatolia had also long been occupied by indigenous population groups before the arrival of the Luwian-speaking peoples. Yet of these there is barely a (clearly identifiable) trace in either the archaeological or the written record of the Late Bronze Age. We can speak with some certainty about the site of Millawanda/Milawata, which was settled ca.1600 by colonists from Crete (MM IIIb period) and bore a distinctly Minoan character. But indigenous population groups or indigenous cultures at the time of the Luwian arrival are virtually impossible to identify in any precise way. Hittite texts provide a large number of names of towns and regions in western Anatolia apart from the Arzawa lands, and some appear to have had *pro tem* attachments to the kingdom of Hatti. But in most cases we know little about them—their ethnic composition, the nature of their political organization, or their relations with other states. The fact that they are referred to separately from the Arzawa lands or Lukka (on which see below) may indicate that their population was non-Luwian. On the other hand, too little is known about them to allow us to exclude the possibility that many may in fact have been located in Luwian-speaking, perhaps Arzawan, territory, but for one reason or other were referred to on their own.

Masa and Karkisa were apparently amongst the most significant independent western Anatolian countries. Etymologically these names can be connected with the later Classical place-names Maionia (or Mysia?) and Caria. But this provides no reliable guide to their actual locations in the Late Bronze Age, given the likelihood of major population shifts at the end of this age, and they should probably be assigned a more northerly inland location during the period of the Hittite kingdom. (For a more detailed discussion of their possible locations, see Hawkins 1998b 29-30.) As we shall see, the peoples of these countries had dealings, sometimes hostile, sometimes collaborative, with both the Hittites and the Arzawan states. They should probably be located reasonably close to the latter. On more than one occasion they served as places of refuge, for fugitives from the Hittite king, or for displaced members of local ruling families fleeing from intra-dynastic or family disputes within their own kingdoms. Again we cannot exclude the possibility that their populations were in part at least Luwian. But our texts provide us with no assistance on this matter.

At all events we can be sure that outside the Arzawa Lands there were significant parts of western Anatolia over which the Hittites never exercised more than tenuous authority, or any authority at all. This must have been a major factor in determining the routes used for travel to the west from the Land of Hatti, whether for military, diplomatic, or commercial purposes. We have also to account for the term 'Lukka' and its place within a Luwian context. The term was apparently used in reference to a region, or regions, and to population groups where the Luwian language was spoken. But there is some uncertainty about how narrow or comprehensive its application was. We can probably talk in terms of both an actual Lukka region, a kind of Lukka homeland, as well as a much broader region inhabited by scattered Lukka groups, perhaps largely nomadic or semi-nomadic in character.[9]

In sum, our history of the Luwian peoples will in effect amount to a historical overview of the various states and regions where we assume there was a significant population of Luwian speakers. In many of these regions Luwians may not have been the only, or even the largest, population group. But we have little or no knowledge of the ethnic composition of other groups living in or near Luwian-occupied territory. Similarly we do not know how many towns, communities, or tribal groups beyond the principal Luwian regions also had a significant Luwian population. In fact we cannot with any degree of confidence draw a clear distinction between Luwian and non-Luwian areas anywhere in Anatolia. It is possible, indeed likely, that Luwian elements predominated in the western Anatolian states called the Arzawa Lands. But they were widely spread through other regions as well.

That applied to the southeastern kingdom of Kizzuwatna, which lay in a region populated by both Luwian- and Hurrian-speaking peoples. It has been argued that the two peoples remained largely distinct from each other. Yet even if this were so, the limited information available to us makes it impossible to deal separately with them in compiling our sources of information on the kingdom's history. Thus while we might reasonably include Kizzuwatna in our survey of the history of the Luwians, we should do so on the clear understanding that whatever is said of its history would be just as appropriate within the context of a history of the Hurrian peoples.

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[9] For a brief survey of sources relating to Lukka, see Röllig 1988.

With these important qualifications, we shall embark on a history of the regions occupied by peoples of Luwian origin, beginning with western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age, which was dominated by the Arzawa Lands, and then moving southeastwards, perhaps following the Luwians' own migratory patterns within Anatolia. We shall conclude our history with the successors of the Bronze Age Luwians, who persisted in significant numbers in various regions of southern Anatolia throughout, or at least for much of, the first millennium BCE.

B. THE LUWIANS IN THEIR BRONZE AGE CONTEXT

1. *The Luwian Population Groups of Western Anatolia*

1.1 *The Arzawa Lands*

Before proceeding to the history of Arzawa, we should give some consideration to what precisely was covered by this name, in terms of both its political composition and its geographical extent. In later documents, Arzawa was used in a generic as well as in a more specific sense. Generically, the 'Arzawa lands' incorporated up to five individual states or kingdoms: 'Arzawa Minor', Mira (with its later extension Kuwaliya, attached to it as frontier territory), the Seha River Land, Wilusa, and Hapalla. The assumed membership of the group is based on several references in Hittite texts, most notably the treaty which Muwattalli (II) drew up with Alaksandu of Wilusa early in the thirteenth century.[10] Section 4 of the treaty groups together three lands which Mursili assigned to vassal rulers: '[When he had conquered the whole] land of Arzawa,[11] he gave the land of Mira [and] the land of Kuwaliya [to Mashuiluwa, he gave the land of the Seha River and] the land of Appawiya [to Manapa-Tarhunta, and he gave] the land of Hapalla [to Targasnalli].' Again, in section 14 of the treaty Muwattalli states: 'Moreover, you are the four kings in the

[10] CTH 76, ed. Friedrich (1930b 42-102), transl. Beckman (1996 82-88).

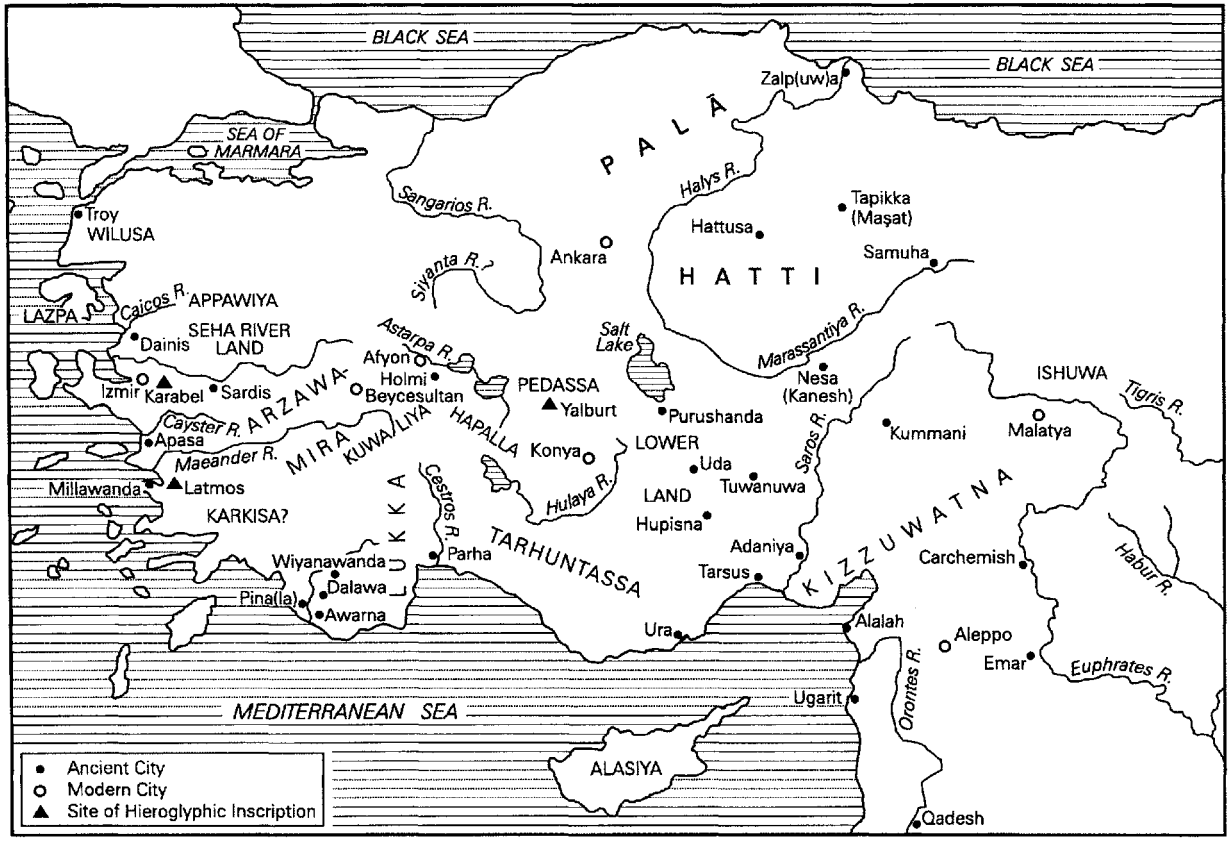
[11] This restoration is proposed by Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 137-138) to line A30 of the text (KUR ^{URU}*Ar-za-u-w[a ḫu-u-ma-an tar-aḫ-ta*...), in place of Friedrich's restoration (KUR ^{URU}*Ar-za-u-w[a A-NA* ^{m}*SUM-ma-*^{d}KAL...), following Forrer and adopted by Beckman. It is accepted by Hawkins (1998b 15 nn. 58, 59; 16 n. 66), and is a necessary corollary of Heinhold-Krahmer's now generally accepted view that Arzawa Minor no longer existed at the time of the Alaksandu treaty.

Arzawa lands: you Alaksandu, Manapa-Tarhunta,[12] Kupanta-Kurunta, and Ura-Hattusa'. From other sources we know that the first three men were, respectively, the kings of Wilusa, the Seha River Land, Mira-Kuwaliya, and the last is generally assumed to have been king of Hapalla at that time.

Conspicuously absent from this list is the state we have referred to as Arzawa Minor. Its existence, and indeed its prominence, within the Arzawan complex can be deduced from references to it up to the early years of Mursili II's reign. We shall discuss below the likely reason for its sudden disappearance from our records after this time, and therefore its omission from the list of Arzawa Lands in the Alaksandu treaty.

Some doubt has been expressed as to whether the Seha River Land should be regarded as a member of the Arzawa group. Indeed there is one text in which it *appears* to be excluded from it: ['Thus speaks Tabarna Tudhaliya (?), the Great Kin]g(?): The land of the River Seha transgressed again for a second time(?). [They said(?): "In the past(?) the great(?)-grandfather of His Majesty did not conquer us by force of arms; [and whe]n [the grandfather of His Majesty] conquered the countries of Arzawa, [he did not conquer] us by force of arms. [He would have conquered] us, but we erased(??) for him the transgression."' (KUB XXIII 13 (CTH 211.4) 1-4, transl. Güterbock 1992 242). We could interpret this to mean that the Seha River Land *alone of the Arzawa Lands* was not conquered, and on the basis of its inclusion with three other 'Arzawa lands' in section 4 of the Alaksandu treaty, it seems reasonable to include it within the Arzawa group—at least at the time the treaty was drawn up. Its inclusion in or exclusion from the Arzawa group might have been largely a matter of what the political situation in the region happened to be at a particular time (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1970 71). This would reinforce the sense of Arzawa as primarily a political rather than an ethnic term, what Laroche (1987-90 182) has called 'un concept politique d'extension flottante'.

[12] The text actually reads this name as Manapa-Kurunta, but this is almost certainly a mistake for Manapa-Tarhunta; see Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 154-157).



Map 2: Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age (H.C. Melchert)

We may suppose that the individual Arzawa lands evolved out of the large mass of Luwian-speaking peoples who had settled in western Anatolia, perhaps along the lines of the emerging Late Bronze Age kingdoms elsewhere in Anatolia. It was with this evolution that the Luwian groups of the west became a political as well as a military force to be reckoned with. 'Arzawa Minor' may have formed a kind of original nucleus of the group, but the group in no sense constituted a united political entity. Each was a separate state with its own ruler, each had a separate relationship with the Hittite king when Hittite authority was extended to this region.

1.2 *The Geographical Extent of the Arzawa Lands*

In broad terms, the Arzawa lands extended inland from Anatolia's Aegean seaboard and through much of western Anatolia probably to the western edges of the Plain of Konya.[13] We can be no more precise than this. The geography of the Hittite world has been described as a guessing game, and there are admittedly many cities, regions, and kingdoms of this world whose precise locations and territorial limits remain uncertain. The major problem is the paucity of archaeological evidence for western Anatolia in this period, and the almost total absence of local epigraphic material. Nonetheless significant progress is being made in the attempts to reconstruct the political geography of the Arzawa complex. Thus a text-join discovered comparatively recently establishes the location of the kingdom of Wilusa in the northwest of Anatolia, in the region of the Classical Troad, with Lazpa, almost certainly the island of Lesbos, as one of its subsidiary territories.[14] In order to reach Wilusa, a Hittite expeditionary force proceeded to it via the Seha River Land, which must have occupied one of the river valleys in western Anatolia. The river itself is commonly identified with the Maeander (mod. Menderes), but is more likely to have been either the Caicos or the Hermos

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[13] See Del Monte and Tischler (1978 s.v. Arzawa, Mira etc.) for a list of sources relevant to the locations of Arzawa and the individual Arzawa Lands, and a summary of scholarly opinion on the locations. For a more recent review of scholarship on the political geography of Late Bronze Age Anatolia, see Gurney (1992). Of particular significance is the new geo-political survey by Hawkins (1998b 21-31).

[14] The join is to the so-called Manapa-Tarhunta letter. For the augmented text (KUB XIX 5 (CTH 191) + KBo XIX 79 5-6), see Houwink ten Cate (1983-84 33-64).

(Classical names). Gurney (1992 221) prefers the former, Hawkins (1998b 23-24) the latter.

Arzawa Minor can be located to the south of the Seha River Land. The nucleus of this land was the city of Apasa, the seat of the local king. Various locations have been suggested for Apasa,[15] but the longstanding proposal to identify it with the Bronze Age predecessor of Classical Ephesos can now be confidently restated (see Hawkins 1998b 1). It is likely, then, that Arzawa Minor extended from the coast into the region between the Hermos and Maeander rivers, with the originally independent land of Millawanda/Milawata lying immediately to its south.

That would tie in with important new information on the location of the kingdom of Mira. Some twenty-eight kilometres east of the city of Izmir on Turkey's western coast there is a mountain pass called Karabel, located in the Tmolus range between Apasa/Ephesos and the later Lydian site of Sardis. Overlooking the pass is a relief cut in the face of the rock, depicting a male human figure wearing a tall peaked cap and armed with bow, spear, and sword with crescent-shaped pommel. The relief is accompanied by an inscription in Luwian hieroglyphs with the name Tarkasnawa, who was an important thirteenth century king of Mira.[16] He is also known from a silver-bossed seal (where his name had previously been represented as 'Tarkondemos') and from a number of seal impressions.

Prior to the last two decades of the fourteenth century Mira was very likely a landlocked country whose eastern limits probably lay somewhere in the region of the modern Afyon (thus Hawkins 1998b 23). Its territory appears to have extended relatively close to the land of Pedassa (where a king of Mira, Mashuiluwa, attempted to stir up trouble), which can be located with reasonable certainty to the west or southwest of the Salt Lake. In the west we know that Mira adjoined the territory of the Seha River Land. Its western borders were also adjacent or very close to those of Arzawa Minor. However, follow-

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[15] Including the site called Habesos in first millennium Lycia, the former name of Antiphellos according to the Elder Pliny (5.8.100). Garstang's proposed identification of the site with Apasa was subsequently rejected by Garstang and Gurney (1959 84).

[16] See Hawkins (1998b). Hawkins notes that the inscription also bears the names of Tarkasnawa's father and grandfather, also kings of Mira but the names are of uncertain reading.

ing the two-year campaigns in the Arzawa Lands by the Hittite king Mursili II (ca. 1321-1295), Arzawa Minor seems to have been totally dismembered (see below), with Mira very likely receiving the lion's share of its former territories—thus extending its western limits to the Aegean coast. The remaining Arzawan state Hapalla lay close to the Lower Land,[17] which served as a Hittite buffer zone lying to the southwest of the core territories of the kingdom of Hatti.

Putting all this information together, we can conclude that the Arzawan lands occupied an almost continous swathe of territory in western Anatolia, extending from the Troad region in the northwest, inland along the Hermos and Caicos river valleys, southwards along the western coast as far as the Maeander valley, and from the Maeander valley eastwards to the region southwest of the Salt Lake where Hittite buffer territory began. It may well be that the ill-defined territorial limits of the Lower Land led to border disputes between Hittite and Arzawan groups and provoked the cattle raid recorded in the Annals of the Hittite king Hattusili I (discussed below).

If we accept the theory of initial Luwian penetration into Anatolia via the northwest, it is tempting to see the pattern of Arzawan occupation as reflecting a progressive spread of Luwian-speaking peoples through the western half of Anatolia leading to the establishment of independent kingdoms in the regions where they settled. The Maeander valley may have been an early nucleus of Luwian settlement in the west, whence Luwian settlements were established further afield, with the original name 'Arzawa' being retained as a generic term for the newly developing states, and as an ongoing reflection of their place of origin. With the establishment of the Arzawan states the term Luwiya disappeared, at least from Hittite records.

1.3 *The Lukka People*

The Luwian-speaking populations of western Anatolia included a group or groups designated by the term Lukka. The people so called are referred to in a number of Hittite texts, with also an occasional reference to them in Egyptian sources and a late reference to Lukka in a tablet from Ugarit. Unfortunately none of the extant sources provide any specific information about the Lukka people. There is no

[17] As can be inferred from KUB XIX 22 4-7. See also Hawkins (1998b 14 n. 39), who comments that a location in inner Pisidia is indicated.

indication from the texts of any political organization or administrative or military coherence amongst them, nothing to suggest that they formed or were part of permanent, stable political entities. We know of no Lukka kings, no Lukka states corresponding, for example, to those of the Arzawa complex. Where then do the Lukka people belong within the general context of the Luwian-speaking groups of western and southern Anatolia? To what extent can they be distinguished from other Luwian groups?

The answers to these questions may be somewhat complex. To begin with, it is possible that as the Arzawan states were evolving in the west, with more formal administrative hierarchies and more structured control over their inhabitants, a number of Luwian groups took no part in or resisted the process, seeking to maintain an independent existence and what was probably a traditional lifestyle outside the territory and authority of the newly developing political entities. Many may have led a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence, some travelling to new regions which were, initially at least, beyond the jurisdiction or authority of the formally constituted states. This may have been the scenario in which scattered, loosely organized Luwian groups, identified by the term Lukka, came within the Hittites' sphere of interest.

Hittite records indicate that Lukka people became at least nominal subjects of the Hittite king, apparently from the time Hittite authority was extended over the Arzawan states if not earlier. But we have the impression from the texts that these subjects were often fractious and difficult to control, and often openly hostile to Hatti. Lukka people seem also to have had a reputation as seafarers who engaged in buccaneering enterprises in the waters and against the coastal cities of the eastern Mediterranean, a clear indication that part of the territory in which they lived or from which they operated included a coastline. More generally, we might deduce from the name Lukka, or Lukka Lands,[18] that there was a specific Lukka region, what we might call a 'Lukka homeland', even though some elements of the Lukka population might have been widely scattered throughout southern and western Anatolia.

What was the nature of this homeland, and where did it lie? As we have observed, it must in part have extended along a coast, it presum-

[18] This plurality is not so far attested before the thirteenth century.

ably lay outside the areas already occupied by the lands of the Arzawa complex, and indeed other known states of western and southern Anatolia, and it was presumably to be sought in a region which held few of the attractions of settled life enjoyed by the inhabitants of the fertile river valleys and coastal areas of Anatolia's Aegean littoral. By a process of elimination we are left by and large with only one possibility—the southwest, the mountainous terrain of the western extension of the Taurus Mountains and the rugged coast which incorporated what was later to become the country of Lycia. Our texts point to much the same conclusion. From these texts we can conclude that the term Lukka included a region which extended westward through Lycia from the western end of Pamphylia. This was Lukka in its most restricted sense. (In its broadest extension the name very likely covered a much larger expanse of territory, as discussed below.) Lycia, the Greek name for the region, was almost certainly derived from Bronze Age Lukka. However, by false etymology Classical tradition associated it with the Greek word for 'wolf'—thus 'Wolfland' (see below).

The most important evidence indicating that this region was, or formed part of, the Lukka homeland comes from the bronze tablet unearthed at Hattusa in 1986. The tablet contains the text of a treaty drawn up by the thirteenth century Hittite king Tudhaliya IV with his cousin Kurunta, ruler of the Hittite appanage kingdom called Tarhuntassa (the text, Bo 86/299, has been published by Otten 1988). We can deduce from boundary references in the tablet (in particular col. i 61), that Tarhuntassa extended along Anatolia's southern coast through the later Cilicia Aspera and in the west must have covered much of the territory of Classical Pamphylia, terminating with the Kastaraya river (Classical Cestros) and the city of Parha (almost certainly Classical Perge). Parha and other names in the boundary description appear elsewhere in the same context as the Lukka Lands (KUB XXI 6a), providing a firm geographical context for these lands within southern Anatolia and in proximity to the Land of Tarhuntassa (see Bryce 1992). Singer (1983 208) has defined the Lukka Lands as 'a loose geographical designation for southwestern Anatolia, used for a group of ethnically and culturally related communities and clans'. More broadly, the region covered by the name may have extended beyond Lycia to parts of the later Pisidia, Isauria, and perhaps even to Lycaonia as well.

Is it possible that in some contexts the names 'Lukka', 'Lukka Lands', or 'Lukka people' had a wider application still, extending to *all* regions where Luwian was spoken?[19]

We have concluded that the Arzawa states had Luwian or predominantly Luwian populations, noting, for example, the replacement of the name Luwiya by Arzawa in later versions of the Hittite Laws, the predominance of Luwian names of kings and other persons from Arzawa attested in written records, and the occasional Luwian inscriptions discovered in what must have been Arzawan territory in western Anatolia. We have suggested that Luwian-speaking groups occupied other areas of western Anatolia as well, and that some of these probably lived a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle independent of any formal political entities. Luwian groups also occupied extensive areas of southern Anatolia.

Was there a generic term to cover *all* of these groups, as well as individual Luwian groups which could not otherwise be more precisely defined? After the disappearance of the name Luwiya from our records, we know of no term other than Lukka which might have served this purpose. There are possible analogies. 'Hurri' appears in Hittite records as a general designation for the Hurrian-speaking peoples of northern Mesopotamia and Syria. Mittanni was the most important Hurrian political and military power to develop in these regions. It was essentially a geo-political unit, or agglomeration of units, within a broader Hurrian ethno-cultural context. The term 'Hurrian' might be used of any Hurrian-speaking groups or any Hurrian-occupied regions within this context. Similarly the term *Akhaioi*, at least as used in Homeric tradition, was a general designation for the Greek-speaking peoples who inhabited the geo-political units of the Late Helladic world—the kingdoms of Mycenae, Argos, Thebes, Pylos and the like. That is to say, generic terms were used as a collective form of identification of ethnic groups who often formed or belonged to independent communities, states, or kingdoms, but whose fundamental common identity was recognised through their sharing of a common language and culture. So too the Hittites might sometimes have used the term Lukka in a generic sense, to refer to *any part* of the Luwian-speaking regions of Anatolia, including the

[19] Cf. Laroche (1976 18-19), Easton (1984 27-28). Contra Easton; see Crossland in the discussion of Easton's paper, Foxhall and Davies (1984 58).

Arzawa Lands, or to these regions *in their totality*. Similarly the term 'Lukka-people' might have been used in a generic sense of persons from any part of the Luwian-speaking world, whether inhabitants of formally constituted states like the Arzawa lands or from communities or tribal or clan groups independent of such states.

There is no real incongruity between the notion of Lukka covering a specific region in southwest Anatolia, and the use of the term Lukka or Lukka Lands as a more general designation for all Luwian-speaking regions of Anatolia. On one occasion the Hittite texts might refer to one, on another occasion to the other. It may be that the term Lukka was originally confined, at least in Hittite terminology, to a particular Luwian-speaking group, whence it was subsequently broadened into a comprehensive designation for the Luwians as a whole. We might compare the term *Graeci* which the Romans used for the indigenous inhabitants of the Hellenic world. The term probably arose from Roman contact with the Hellenic *Graii* of southern Italy, leading to the adoption of the cognate form *Graeci* in Latin and its application to all parts of the 'Greek' world.

In sum, the term Lukka might have applied to (a) a specific region in the southwest of Anatolia, inhabited by Luwian-speaking peoples but without clearly defined boundaries and with no overall political organization, (b) any other regions, or all regions collectively, with a predominantly Luwian population. We shall consider below what indications we have in the texts themselves of this proposed distinction.

2. *History of Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age*

2.1 *The Limitations of Luwian History*

As we attempt to reconstruct a history of the Late Bronze Age Luwian-speaking peoples in western Anatolia, we need to bear in mind an important *caveat*. In contrast to Luwian religious texts, which have been inserted into Hittite documents and provide a few glimpses of Luwian culture, there are no texts of Luwian origin which provide historical information about the peoples of the Luwian-speaking world. Almost the entire corpus of extant material on the Luwians derives from Hittite sources. There are but a handful of exceptions: two pieces of correspondence between Arzawa and Egypt during the reign of the pharaoh Amenhotep III, a reference to Lukka in correspondence between the king of Alasiya and the pharaoh Amenhotep

IV/Akhenaten, the apparent inclusion of Lukka among the so-called Sea Peoples, and a reference to Lukka in correspondence between the kings of Alasiya and Ugarit in the last years of the Late Bronze Age. Apart from these, our knowledge of Luwian history is derived from patently prejudiced Hittite texts whose information on the peoples and countries of the Luwian regions is strictly limited to issues and events which relate directly to Hittite interests. We can work only with what we have—piecing together parts of a history of the Luwian world on the basis of a strongly politically biassed treatment of this world by its overlords and sometime enemies, and a narrowly focussed treatment of this world which confines itself entirely to matters relevant to Hatti's relations with it. All else is ignored.

Of course in view of Hatti's dominant role in the Anatolian peninsula, the history of Luwiya in this period must have consisted very largely of its relations with Hatti, even if it had been chronicled by independent Luwian scribes. What we do miss is any information about the local history of the Luwian states and political developments within these states, apart from a few references to dynastic squabbles and coups reported in our Hittite sources. Of particular interest would have been local texts relating to the Arzawan kingdoms' relations with Ahhiyawa, since almost certainly there were regular communications and diplomatic and other links between at least some of these and the Mycenaean Greek world.[20] They undoubtedly had some form of chancellery, in view of the correspondence which passed between them and Hatti. This presupposes the existence of local archives where communications received or copies of communications sent were stored. And it is unlikely that such records would have been confined exclusively to the westerners' dealings with Hattusa. The close contact between Ahhiyawa and the western Anatolian world, particularly in the thirteenth century, would almost certainly have been reflected in written documents (see Bryce 1999 260). But almost all evidence of written records in the west during the Late Bronze Age has disappeared without trace.

Thus our perceptions of the Luwians, above all the inhabitants of the Arzawa Lands, are essentially those of Hittite kings (and their chancelleries) who wrote to or about them—often regarding them as

[20] This assumes that Ahhiyawa was the Hittite term for the Mycenaean world or a Mycenaean kingdom within that world; see, e.g. Bryce (1998 59-63). Further support for the identification is provided by Hawkins (1998b, espec. 30-31).

enemies or potential enemies located in strategically important regions. Such perceptions may well be distorted. An Arzawan vassal ruler immortalized in the archives of Hattusa as a treacherous disloyal subject of the Great King might in fact have had a quite different image among his own people, perhaps that of a patriotic leader seeking to release his land from the shackles of alien overlordship. Conversely, a vassal praised by the Great King for his unfaltering loyalty to the Hittite cause might well have been seen by his own people as a self-serving traitor.

This by way of prelude to a history of the Arzawa lands, inevitably a fragmentary history, presented largely from a Hittite perspective, and compiled almost entirely from Hittite sources. Several types of documents make up these sources: annalistic records of a Hittite king's military exploits, self-laudatory shorter royal hieroglyphic inscriptions on stone, correspondence between Hittite kings and their vassals (we have only the Hittite letters, or rather their copies, with none surviving from the vassals themselves), and the texts of treaties, unilaterally imposed contracts often introduced by historical preambles.

2.2 *Early Contacts and Conflicts between Hatti and the Arzawa Lands*

Our earliest reference to Arzawa records a raid into its territory by the Hittite king Hattusili I (ca. 1650-1620). In his account of the military campaigns which he conducted over a six-year period,[21] Hattusili informs us that in the third year of these campaigns: 'I marched against Arzawa and I took from it cattle and sheep.' This brief statement and the event to which it refers seem almost incidental to the main narrative of Hattusili's military exploits. Indeed it is remarkable that in the midst of extensive campaigns undertaken in central and eastern Anatolia and further afield in Syria Hattusili should suddenly turn his attention to the west against Arzawa, for the apparent purpose of plundering its livestock. Yet this raid was probably not an isolated incident. More likely it was but one of a number of hostile cross-border actions symptomatic of increasing tensions between Hatti and Arzawa. Such tensions were the likely consequence of ongoing Hittite territorial expansion initiated by a king called Labarna, a predecessor of Hattusili and probable founder of the Hittite royal dynasty. Labarna's conquests in Anatolia extended

[21] KBo X 1 + KBo X 2 (CTH 4), ed. Imparati and Saporetti 1965.

Hittite territory south to the Mediterranean Sea and west to the Konya Plain, as recorded in the Proclamation of the fifteenth century Hittite king Telipinu (CTH 19, secs. 1-4, lines i 2-12).

This led to the establishment of Hittite control over the region extending south and southwest of the Marassantiya river, which was called the Lower Land and came to serve as a Hittite buffer zone against threats to Hittite homeland territory particularly from the southwest (see Bryce 1986-87 97-99). Very likely this had been and continued to be an area of Luwian settlement, as Dr Singer (1981 124) concludes on the basis of the names of local gods in the region of the Classical Tyanitis with its principal towns Tuwanuwa, Hupisna, Landa, Sahasara, Huwassana and Kuniyawanni. Extension of the Lower Land further to the southwest would have brought Hittite territory in close proximity to the eastern limits of the region which came to be called Arzawa, thus creating the potential for border disputes and cross-border raids of the kind alluded to in a number of treaties which Hittite kings subsequently drew up with their immediate neighbours.

Such disputes often served as a prelude to further territorial acquisitions by an aggressive neighbour. Already in Hattusili's reign, it has been suggested, at least part of Arzawan territory may have become subject to Hatti. The suggestion is based primarily on the reading of an early text KBo III 34 (CTH 8A), from a 'palace chronicle' or collection of anecdotes, which refers to a Hittite subject called Nunnu from the city of Hurma. We learn that Nunnu had been in Arzawiya (the Old Hittite form of Arzawa), and while there had apparently embezzled gold which should have been handed over to the Hittite king. It has been inferred from this episode, possibly to be dated to Hattusili's reign, that the embezzler had served as an administrative appointee of the Hittite king in Arzawa, occupying a position important enough to enable him to misappropriate gold intended for his overlord's coffers (cf. Gurney 1973a 246; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 19-21; Bryce 1998 79). If the inference is correct, we might then conclude that the region where Nunnu had operated was subject to Hittite sovereignty at that time.

A text from a later period seems to indicate extensive early Hittite conquests in the Arzawa region. In the historical preamble to his treaty with Alaksandu, king of Wilusa, the Hittite king Muwattalli II (ca. 1295-1272) states: 'Formerly, when my forefather Labarna had

conquered all the lands of Arzawa and the land of Wilusa, thereafter the land of Arzawa began war, and the land of Wilusa defected from Hatti—but because the matter is long past, I do not know from which king.' (Alaksandu Treaty (CTH 76) B i 2-6, transl. Beckman 1996 82). At first sight it is tempting to use this passage as a possible starting point for the attested history of Arzawa, assigning its alleged conflicts with Hatti to the reign of the first Hittite king called Labarna. But the passage is of dubious historical value. To judge from sections 1-4 of the Telipinu Proclamation, Labarna I's military exploits, impressive though they were, did not extend into western Anatolia, certainly not on the scale indicated by Muwattalli.

In any case, the term *Labarna* came into general use as a royal title and might have referred to any of Labarna's successors. Muwattalli himself admits uncertainty as to which of his early predecessors the western military campaigns ought to be assigned. Hattusili (who himself uses the title Labarna) is a possible candidate, though his preoccupation with campaigns in central and eastern Anatolia and in the Syrian region would have left him little time or opportunity, even if he had the inclination, for extensive campaigns in the west. And despite Muwattalli's assumption that the Arzawan campaigns to which he refers predated the reign of Tudhaliya (presumably the man who became the first ruler of the New Kingdom),[22] it seems inconceivable that any of Hattusili's Old Kingdom successors would have engaged in major campaigns in the west, given the serious shrinkage of Hittite territory during their reigns. At best the passage from the Alaksandu treaty represents a conflated version of later conflicts between Hittites and Arzawans. The author of the treaty has used considerable editorial licence to suit the propagandistic purposes of the treaty's historical preamble.

It is with the first king called Tudhaliya that we come to firmer ground in the history of Hittite-Arzawan relations. The fragmentary remains of Tudhaliya's Annals[23] record two military campaigns in the west under the king's personal leadership. The first was against a

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[22] See Bryce (1998 131-133). It is uncertain whether the exploits associated with an early New Kingdom Tudhaliya should be assigned to one or two kings of this name.

[23] KUB XXIII 11//12 (CTH 142.2), ed. Carruba (1977 158-163), also transl. Gurney in Garstang and Gurney (1959 121-123). See also Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 256-258).

number of countries which included several of the states we have identified as Arzawa lands: Arzawa (Minor), the Seha River Land, and Hapalla. This is the first time in our texts that members of the Arzawa complex are individually identified—some 180 years or so after the first reference to Arzawa in the Annals of Hattusili. In the intervening period, perhaps, the Arzawa complex had evolved into separate political entities. To judge from the Hittite account, this first western campaign resulted in a decisive success for Tudhaliya, though shortly afterwards he had to reassemble his forces for a further campaign in the region. On this occasion he was confronted with an anti-Hittite coalition of twenty-two countries commonly referred to as the 'Assuwan Confederacy'. Another of the Arzawan states is mentioned in this second campaign—Wilusiya (an alternative version of Wilusa; see Houwink ten Cate 1970 77-78; Güterbock 1984 35), the penultimate name in the list of coalition states. (We shall have more to say about the possible significance of this.) Once more the Hittites were victorious. The coalition was defeated, and as far as we know was never again re-formed.

We might note in this context the discovery in 1991 of a bronze longsword near the Lion Gate at Hattusa.[24] The sword bears an inscription, which can be dated stylistically to the period of the first Tudhaliya, indicating that it was dedicated by Tudhaliya to the Storm-god after a victory over Assuwa. The inscription has been published by Ünal in Ünal, Ertekin, and Ediz (1991 51). It seems very likely that the sword was part of Tudhaliya's booty from his Assuwan campaign, and was subsequently inscribed to commemorate the campaign.

With the exception of Mira, all of the known Arzawan states figured amongst the enemy countries against whom Tudhaliya made war in his western campaigns—though in Tudhaliya's account none of them is given any prominence over the other western countries, nor is there any sense of their forming a coherent group among themselves. Even so they may well have played leading roles in the opposition which Tudhaliya encountered in the west. Moreover, it is possible that the successes he won there provided a genuine basis for the references to extensive conquests in Arzawa recorded in the Alaksandu Treaty. We have noted that these conquests were attri-

[24] On the find-spot and its archaeological context, see Neve (1993a 648-52).

buted by Muwattalli to one of Tudhaliya's predecessors. But they actually fit the scenario of Tudhaliya's reign much better than they do the reigns of any of those who sat upon the throne before him. Muwattalli mentions Tudhaliya merely as a *terminus ante quem*, mistakenly assigning his conquests to an earlier period.

We have no information on the events leading up to Tudhaliya's western campaigns, or the reasons which persuaded him to undertake them. However as the military capabilities of the western states grew, increasing pressure on Hatti's southwestern frontiers may well have prompted the Hittite king to conduct preemptive or retaliatory operations in the west, at least partly with the intention of destroying newly forming confederacies in the region. Here perhaps he encountered stronger and more widespread opposition than he had expected. Very likely Arzawa Minor was at the core of this opposition. In his own account Tudhaliya gives no clear indication of any special role played by this state. But in the Annals of the man he made his son-in-law and co-regent, Arnuwanda (I), we have additional information about Arzawa's involvement in the conflict,[25] including Hittite action taken against Kupanta-Kurunta, called 'the Man of Arzawa', very likely the chief leader in the coalition, his defeat by the Hittites, and his escape from them (KUB XXIII 21 ii 1'-32').

Thus we can probably assign to Tudhaliya's reign the Hittites' first substantial involvement in western Anatolian affairs, perhaps largely in response to the emergence of an Arzawan state in the region with the potential to threaten Hatti's position as the dominant political and military power within Anatolia. Mutual fear of aggression was very likely the catalyst for conflict. Arzawa could quite reasonably have entertained fears that the Hittite instinct for territorial expansion would only be held in check by a powerful alliance of western Anatolian states. That conviction may well have communicated itself to other western Anatolian states who formed a coalition around Arzawa. As far as Hatti was concerned, the southwest frontiers of the kingdom would become increasingly vulnerable if a new rising power in the west was allowed to develop and grow unchecked, particularly one which had the ability to form powerful military alliances.

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[25] The Annals survive in a late copy, KUB XXIII 21 (CTH 143); see Carruba (1977 166-171); Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 259-260); Freu (1987 135-43). See also Houwink ten Cate (1970 57-79).

On the surface, Tudhaliya's western campaigns appear to have met with considerable success. Yet we should not overestimate the impact they actually made on the regions where they were conducted. Conquest was not followed up with the establishment of permanent Hittite authority over the conquered territories, at least those in the far west. There is little evidence of any attempts at this time to impose vassal status on the western states, which probably retained their independence (with one apparent exception),[26] even if their ability to mount similar anti-Hittite campaigns was in the immediate future severely limited by the transportation of large numbers of captive infantry and chariotry back to the Hittite homeland. As was the case with Hattusili I's campaigns in Syria, Tudhaliya's western campaigns could achieve no more than the temporary pacification of a region which was seen as a threat to the security of Hittite territory —for long enough periods to enable the Hittites to concentrate their resources on protecting other vulnerable frontiers, particularly to the north and southeast, and on areas in the southeast which were more closely aligned with their interests.

Further information on relations between Hatti and Arzawa is provided by a document commonly referred to as the Indictment of Madduwatta.[27] The document takes the form of a letter written by Arnuwanda I, Tudhaliya's co-regent and successor, to a Hittite vassal ruler called Madduwatta, whose career as vassal extended through both Tudhaliya's and Arnuwanda's reigns. We are informed that Madduwatta had orginally been expelled from his own country, which probably lay somewhere in western Anatolia,[28] and had sought asylum with Tudhaliya. He had been accompanied by his family and a retinue of troops and chariots, an indication of his importance, or his former importance, in his own land. Tudhaliya established him as a vassal ruler in a part of Hittite subject territory called the mountain

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[26] The Arzawan state Hapalla was apparently claimed as Hittite subject territory, as indicated below in the context of the events involving the Hittite vassal Madduwatta. The Hittites may also at this time have extended their control over part of what became the kingdom of Mira, assigning it (as suggested below) to the immediate control of Madduwatta.

[27] KUB XIV 1 + KBo XIX 38 (CTH 147), ed. Goetze (1927). See also Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 260-262); Hoffman (1984); (Freu 1987).

[28] The name of his country is not specified in the text. The fact that his expulsion was due to Attarssiya, a 'Man of Ahhiya', does not necessarily mean that Attarssiya was a fellow-countryman.

land of Zippasla, and subsequently increased the size of his kingdom by adding to it territory called the Siyanta River Land, which now served as its boundary.

Although the precise location of the vassal kingdom is uncertain, it seems clear from Arnuwanda's letter that it lay on the periphery of Hittite subject territory in the Arzawa region.[29] In return for his appointment, Madduwatta was obliged by his agreement with Tudhaliya to act as a watchdog of Hittite interests in the region and to provide military assistance to the king when called upon to do so. He was expressly instructed to occupy no other land, beyond what had been assigned him. Yet he was apparently quick to violate his oath by undertaking a campaign against Arzawa, then ruled by Kupanta-Kurunta.[30] His aggression backfired. Kupanta-Kurunta destroyed his army and then launched a retaliatory attack on his kingdom. Madduwatta was forced to flee for his life. Tudhaliya promptly dispatched Hittite forces to the area, who succeeded in driving Kupanta-Kurunta back to his own land, in the process taking substantial booty from him. Madduwatta was restored to his vassal seat by his overlord and presented with the spoils of battle. A remarkable act of clemency on Tudhaliya's part, or so it seems, in view of what appears to have been a flagrant breach by Madduwatta of the terms of his agreement with his overlord.

After further violations, Madduwatta concluded a peace with Kupanta-Kurunta, reinforced by a marriage alliance with his daughter. When once more Tudhaliya protested, his vassal's response was that this was all part of a trick to win Kupanta-Kurunta's confidence, and then to kill him. At this point the text becomes fragmentary, leaving the outcome of the episode unknown.

We need to bear in mind that Madduwatta's activities are revealed to us only through the words of his complainant, and that there is undoubtedly Hittite bias in the representation of the events in which he was involved. Nonetheless, the episode is important in the history of Hittite-Arzawan relations. At this time the country ruled by Kupanta-Kurunta was clearly independent of Hittite control, and even before Madduwatta's allegedly unprovoked attack upon it, relations between Kupanta-Kurunta's kingdom and Hatti were obviously

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[29] It may have covered part of the later kingdom of Mira; see Hawkins (1998b 25).

[30] Though neither here nor in Arnuwanda's Annals is Kupanta-Kurunta actually called 'king'.

strained, if not openly hostile. The kingdom is almost certainly to be understood as Arzawa in the restricted sense (what we have called Arzawa Minor), and must have extended close to the western fringe of Hittite subject territory since it lay close if not adjacent to Madduwatta's fiefdom. Given that Apasa (Ephesos) on the coast was, in later times at least, the royal seat of this kingdom, then its territory must have covered a substantial portion of southwestern Asia Minor, including probably much of the region later assigned to Mira following the dismemberment of Arzawa Minor in King Mursili II's reign (discussed below).

Arnuwanda's letter to Madduwatta may well reflect a general policy on the part of the early New Kingdom rulers of Hatti towards western Anatolia. Given the Hittites' strong political and cultural orientation towards the southeast, and the limited resources at their disposal to maintain this orientation while providing adequate protection for their homeland, it is likely that they preferred to keep their involvement in western Anatolian affairs to as little as was consistent with the security of their frontiers in that region. An astute, ambitious vassal located in a sensitive frontier zone might well attempt to exploit that situation for his own advantage as Madduwatta apparently did.

There was however one Arzawa land over which the Hittites at this time claimed sovereignty—the land of Hapalla. But the sovereignty was apparently tenuous enough for Madduwatta to try to incorporate Hapalla within his own expanding territory. His conquest of it led to a peremptory demand by Arnuwanda for its return: 'The Land of Hapalla is a land belonging to My Sun. Why have you taken it? Give it back to me now!'(Indictment, sec. 29, rev. 56). Hapalla was returned, but Madduwatta retained other conquests allegedly belonging to the Hittite crown and probably lying further to the west, including some communities lying in or near Lukka territory (discussed below).

2.3 *The Luwians of Western Anatolia during the First Half of the Hittite Kingdom*

Let us at this point summarize what we know or may reasonably conclude about western Anatolia's Luwian-speaking populations, up to around the mid-fourteenth century:

(a) The Hittites originally referred to the Luwian-occupied regions of western Anatolia by the collective term Luwiya, a broad ethno-geographical designation attested in early versions of the Hittite Laws. It was replaced in later versions of the Laws by the term Arzawa. We do not know whether the original term was ever used by the Luwians themselves, or was purely one of convenience adopted by the Hittites, primarily in reference to the Luwian-speaking regions to the west and southwest of their homeland. It occurs nowhere outside the Laws.

(b) The adoption of the 'replacement term' Arzawa may reflect the development of more formal political organizations in the west. It was used as a general designation for a number of separate but ethnically linked kingdoms in the region. We have concluded that there were five of these: Arzawa Minor, Wilus(iy)a, the Seha River Land, Hapalla, and Mira-Kuwaliya. The first appears to have been the most prominent, and may have served as a political centre or nucleus of the whole region before its differentiation into separate kingdoms. Henceforth the name Arzawa continued in use for the complex as a whole, as well as for the kingdom which had been its core territory.

(c) *In toto* the Arzawan kingdoms covered a large area of western Anatolia extending along the Aegean coast from the Troad southward to the Maeander river and inland to the southwest of the Salt Lake.

(d) There were also a number of Luwian-speaking population groups located beyond the confines of the Arzawa states. The name 'Lukka' seems to have applied to at least some of these groups who in many cases may have led a nomadic or semi-nomadic tribal existence. A region called the Lukka Lands, extending through the southwest of Anatolia, provided a homeland for western Luwians who lived outside the Arzawa complex. The term Lukka may also have been used as a general designation for the Luwian-speaking regions and populations as a whole.

(e) The earliest text-references to the Arzawa lands place four of them (all but Mira) in coalitions or alliances of western Anatolian countries in conflict with and eventually defeated by Tudhaliya I/II in the early decades of the fourteenth century. Arzawa Minor emerged as the chief opponent of Hatti in the west under Kupanta-Kurunta, the first known ruler of an Arzawan state. Hapalla may have been the first Arzawa land to become subject, at least nominally, to Hittite overlordship.

2.4 *Prospects for a Luwian Empire*

Was there ever the potential for a Luwian kingdom to become the supreme power in Anatolia? The Luwians were almost certainly the largest of the population groups of Late Bronze Age Anatolia, and the most dynamic in terms of the rapidity and comprehensiveness of their spread through western and southern Anatolia. In the west they formed kingdoms, had significant fighting forces at their disposal, and joined in military alliances with other states. They were demonstrably hostile to the kingdom of Hatti. Arzawa Minor appears to have been the largest and most prominent of the western Luwian states, perhaps providing military leadership in the region on a *primus inter pares* basis. Its ruler Kupanta-Kurunta figures twice in the texts in conflicts with the Hittites. On the second occasion he had succeeded in invading and occupying Hittite subject territory. Though defeated on both occasions, his activities gave clear warning that his land would remain a constant threat to Hittite interests and a major obstacle to the further expansion of Hittite power in Anatolia.

Indeed there was a period in the early fourteenth century when Arzawa Minor had good prospects of replacing Hatti as the dominant power in Anatolia. Prior to this the early political and military development of the Hittite state and the expansionist campaigns of the first Hittite kings had effectively preempted the emergence of an alternative power of comparable size and importance in Anatolia. Moreover, a kingdom like Hatti whose nucleus lay in central or eastern Anatolia was far better placed to establish political and military links with the rest of the Late Bronze Age Near East and the essential strategic alliances with other Great Kings than one whose nucleus lay in the west. So long as Hatti blocked Arzawa's eastwards expansion, its rulers could never hope to achieve the status of Great Kingship.

An excellent opportunity was soon to be presented for it to remedy this situation. During the reign of Arnuwanda's son Tudhaliya III, the enemies of Hatti swept through the peripheral subject areas of the Hittite kingdom and invaded and sacked the homeland.[31] The invaders included forces from Arzawa, who struck from the southwest: 'From the Lower Land came the Arzawan enemy, and he too sacked the Hatti lands, and he made Tuwanuwa (Classical Tyana) and Uda (Hyde) his frontier' (KBo VI 28 obv. 8-9). The term 'Arzawa' may here be used in its comprehensive sense, though very likely the lead was taken by Arzawa Minor. At all events, the thorough devastation of the homeland, including the sack of the capital Hattusa, and the flight of the Hittite royal court to a temporary base, probably at Samuha,[32] seems to have left the way clear for Arzawa Minor to become the dominant power in Anatolia. Its ruler at the time was called Tarhuntaradu, and it was to him that the pharaoh Amenhotep III wrote seeking a daughter of his in marriage as the basis for an alliance between Egypt and Arzawa: 'I have heard that everything is finished, and that the country Hattusa is paralyzed.'(EA 31, 26-27, after Moran 1992 101). A clear indication that Amenhotep saw Tarhuntaradu as the next Great King of the Anatolian region.

But his approach to Tarhuntaradu was somewhat premature. Under Tudhaliya's leadership, and more particularly under that of his son, the future King Suppiluliuma, the Hittites drove the enemy forces from their homeland, inflicting upon them a series of resounding defeats, until only the enemy from Arzawa remained unsubdued. Suppiluliuma sought from his father, and was granted, the privilege of dealing with them (DŠ p. 68, frag. 14, 38'-40'). His first task was to dislodge the Arzawan forces occupying the Lower Land, from which territory they constituted a direct and ever-present threat to the Hittite homeland. A passage in Suppiluliuma's biography composed by his son, the later King Mursili II, claims a decisive victory over the occupation forces: '[The gods] helped [my father: the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of] Hatti, the Storm-god of the [Army, and Ishtar of the Battlefield], [(so that) my father slew the]

[31] Sometimes referred to as the 'concentric invasions'. We learn of the crisis from the historical preamble to a decree of the thirteenth century king Hattusili III, KBo VI 28 (CTH 88) obv. 6-15, transl. Goetze (1940 22). For discussion of the event, see Bryce (1988 158-160).

[32] Probably located on the upper course of the Marassantiya River.

Arzawan enemy ...[(so that the] enemy [troops died] in multitude' (DŠ p. 68, frag. 14, 43'-45', transl. Güterbock). The extent of the Hittite success on this occasion may be somewhat exaggerated, for it was to prove only one of a number of clashes between Hittite and Arzawan forces in the region (as indicated by DŠ pp. 75-77, frag. 15). The Arzawan forces had after all occupied a region which almost certainly already had a substantial Luwian population—which may well have been inclined to support their kindred against their erstwhile overlords.

Suppiluliuma may eventually have succeeded in removing Arzawan forces from the Lower Land, but throughout his reign the Arzawans continued to threaten Hittite interests within and around the kingdom's frontiers. This is particularly illustrated by the operations of an Arzawan leader called Anzapahhaddu[33] who had given asylum to Hittite subjects seeking refuge with him and refused a demand from Suppiluliuma to hand them back. Suppiliuma responded by sending a punitive exeditionary force into Arzawan territory under the command of Himuili. Himuili's troops were resoundingly defeated, and Suppiluliuma was obliged to take the field himself to enforce his demand. This must have been a particularly irksome task, given that Suppiluliuma's efforts for virtually his entire reign were concentrated on destroying the kingdom of Mittanni in the southeast and firmly establishing Hittite control throughout northern Syria.

He was nonetheless obliged to devote a number of campaigns throughout his career to crushing enemy aggression against Hatti in the west. No doubt these campaigns were directed particularly against hostile Arzawa lands. At some point during his reign he appointed Hannutti, one of his ablest commanders, as governor of the Lower Land. From here Hannutti launched an attack on the Land of Hapalla, which had evidently established its independence of Hatti during the upheavals of the concentric invasions. It was now, apparently, restored to the Hittite fold after the land had been devastated and plundered of booty—people and livestock (KUB XIX 22 (CTH 40 VI.52B), ed. Houwink ten Cate 1966).

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[33] His status is uncertain. He may have been the successor of Tarhuntaradu, or merely one of a number of military leaders in the Arzawan region.

2.5 *The Arzawa Lands as Hittite Vassal States*

More generally, Hannutti's presence in the Lower Land served to hold Arzawan aggression in check for the remainder of Suppiluliuma's reign. Whether or not Suppiluliuma went further and imposed vassal status on any of the western lands remains uncertain. We have no clear evidence of any treaties drawn up by him with the rulers of these lands,[34] though it is possible that he established alliances of one kind or another with several of the western rulers, ensuring that Hatti exercised some influence in the region during his reign. For example, Milawata/Millawanda on the Aegean coast seems to have been allied with Hatti, if not an actual subject state, while Suppiluliuma occupied the throne, in view of Mursili's claim that it had defected to Ahhiyawa at the beginning of his own reign.

Even so the Arzawa lands remained a constant potential threat to the security of Hittite territory in the southwest, and a permanent resolution of the Arzawa problem was becoming increasingly pressing. Indeed the dangers confronting the Hittite kingdom from all sides assumed crisis proportions with the sudden deaths of Suppiluliuma and his son and successor Arnuwanda (II), victims of the plague brought by Egyptian captives to Hatti. Shortly before his death Arnuwanda had summoned Hannutti from the Lower Land to deal with widespread attacks on Hittite territory, provoked by the news of the new king's illness. Hannutti headed north, to Ishupitta in the Kaska zone, but died soon after his arrival. This was the situation confronting Arnuwanda's brother Mursili, a young man who suddenly and unexpectedly found himself on the throne of Hatti following his father's and brother's deaths. He was faced with widespread rebellion and declarations of war, to judge from the account he has left us in his Annals.[35] He responded with a series of intensive campaigns of pacification and reconquest. After two years of operations against the Kaska peoples to the north of the Hittite homeland, he turned his attention to the west.

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[34] On the possibility that he concluded an alliance with the Arzawan king Uhhaziti, later the opponent of his son Mursili, see Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 73-74).

[35] *AM* pp. 16-23. The Annals appear in two series: (1) a summary account of Mursili's personal military achievements during the first ten years of his reign ('Ten-Year Annals'); (2) a detailed account of Hittite campaigns covering the king's entire reign ('Comprehensive Annals').

Once again Arzawa Minor seems to have been the chief instigator of anti-Hittite activity in the region, under the leadership of Uhhaziti, its current king and formerly an ally of Mursili's father Suppiluliuma. Once again the Hittites were confronted with the danger of a coalition of western states being formed which might not only wrest from Hatti's control all Hittite subject territories in the region, but also eventually pose a direct threat to Hittite homeland territories as well, as it had done in Tudhaliya III's reign. The threat to Hittite interests in the west was intensified by an alliance which Uhhaziti formed with the king of Ahhiyawa, now becoming increasingly involved in western Anatolian affairs. Ahhiyawa was almost certainly a kingdom of mainland Greece, with perhaps Mycenae itself as its royal seat.

The Anatolian state of Millawanda/Milawata (Classical Miletos[36]) also formed an alliance with Ahhiyawa, very likely at Uhhaziti's instigation. It was this in particular which prompted a Hittite military expedition to the west under Mursili's commanders Gulla and Malaziti (Comprehensive Annals, *AM* pp. 36-39). Millawanda was apparently conquered and its territory laid waste, but Uhhaziti continued to pursue his anti-Hittite activities undeterred. Indeed his refusal to accede to an ultimatum from Mursili to hand over refugees from Hittite authority who had sought asylum with him amounted to a declaration of war: 'I sent a messenger to Uhhaziti, and I wrote thus: "When I asked for the return of my subjects who went over to you, you did not give them back to me. You treated me like a child, you despised me. Now, let us do battle, and the Storm-god, My Lord, will make judgement on our dispute!"' (Ten-Year Annals, *AM* pp. 46-47).

Joined by his brother Sharri-Kushuh (the Hittite viceroy at Carchemish), Mursili now undertook a campaign in person against the defiant Arzawan king. Military operations in the Arzawa region occupied two full campaigning seasons, as reported by Mursili in his Annals for his third and fourth years. Divine assistance was on his side, or so he claims, in the form of a thunderbolt which struck both Uhhaziti's city Apasa as well as Uhhaziti himself, rendering him incapable of leading his forces into battle. His son Piyama-Kurunta took over his command, and battle between Arzawan and Hittite

[36] The identification is now clearly supported by archaeological evidence. See Niemeier (1997). See also Hawkins (1998b 30-31 n. 207).

forces was joined at the river Astarpa in Walma, on the boundary of Hittite and Arzawan territory.[37] According to his own account Mursili won a decisive victory against Piyama-Kurunta, and then pursued him all the way to the city of Apasa. He occupied the city without resistance, but failed to capture its ailing king Uhhaziti who had fled to nearby islands which were probably under Ahhiyawan sovereignty and out of Hittite reach.[38]

Mursili was now master of Uhhaziti's kingdom, with but two remaining strongholds to be captured before his conquest was complete—Mount Arinnanda and the city of Puranda, where some of the refugees who had sought asylum from Hittite authority had gathered.[39] Mursili blockaded Arinnanda and starved its occupants into surrender (Comprehensive Annals, *AM* pp. 54-57). But he had insufficient time to conquer Puranda before the end of the campaigning season, and was obliged to winter with his troops at the Astarpa River before laying siege to and capturing the city in the following season. With the fall of Puranda, Arzawan resistance was at an end. The man who had led its defence, Tapalazunawali, another of the sons of Uhhaziti (who had died in his place of exile), was the only person who managed to escape.[40]

Before he could return to his homeland, Mursili had one further item of unfinished business. It concerned another of the lands of the Arzawa complex—the Seha River Land, then ruled by the king Manapa-Tarhunta. The status of the Seha River Land at this time vis-à-vis Hatti is a little uncertain. Son of the previous king Muwawalwi, Manapa-Tarhunta had secured Hittite support after a dispute with two of his brothers had forced him to flee his country and seek refuge in the country of Karkisa. Mursili had intervened on his behalf, firstly demanding that the people of Karkisa keep him safe. Subse-

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[37] The river was later to form part of the boundary of the Arzawan state of Mira-Kuwaliya. Its identification proposed by Garstang and Gurney (1959 86) with the modern Akar Çay (inland Classical Cayster) is supported by Hawkins (1998b 22).

[38] Ten-Year Annals, *AM* pp. 50-51. On the identification of *guršauwananza* as 'islands', see Starke (1981).

[39] Mursili claims that the inhabitants of Puranda had formerly been subjects of his father Suppiluliuma, but had been handed over by him to Uhhaziti (Comprehensive Annals, *AM* pp. 58-59). Mt. Arinnanda has been plausibly identified with Mt. Mycale (Samsun Dağ); see Hawkins (1998b 23 with refs.).

[40] It is possible that he sought refuge with the Ahhiyawan king, who may subsequently have handed him over to Mursili.This depends on the restoration of a fragmentary section of the *Annals*, *AM* pp. 66-67, sec. 25. Cf. Goetze (1975 122).

quently with Hittite support he was restored to his country and placed on its throne. This took place, according to Mursili, after his brother Ura-Tarhunta 'violated his oath' (Mursili's treaty with Manapa-Tarhunta (CTH 69), sec. 2 (A i 14-18)). The reference to an oath violation may indicate that the Seha River Land was already a Hittite vassal state at the time in question, although we have no trace of or reference to any formal treaty between its ruler and the Hittite king. But in any case Manapa-Tarhunta was seen as owing his kingship and therefore his allegiance to Hatti. He had, however, joined forces with Uhhaziti in the latter's conflict with Hatti, an act of disloyalty which rendered his city liable to plunder and destruction. As Mursili's troops approached to exact punishment on their turncoat ally, Manapa-Tarhunta panicked and sent an appeal to Mursili, begging for mercy. Initially the appeal was rejected. But when it was repeated by Manapa-Tarhunta's mother who threw herself at the feet of the Great King when he was quite literally at the gates of her son's city, Mursili relented. It was probably now that he imposed vassal status upon the land, as indicated by the words: 'I took Manapa-Tarhunta and the Seha River Land into subjection' (Comprehensive Annals, *AM* pp. 70-73).

It may well be that from this time vassal status was imposed on the Arzawa lands, a reflection of the signal success Mursili had achieved in establishing Hittite authority in western Anatolia, to a greater degree than any of his predecessors including his father Suppiluliuma. There seems to have been an important prelude to this. Following Mursili's defeat of Uhhaziti, we have no further references which can be unequivocally associated with the kingdom of Arzawa Minor. There is a reference to a campaign against Arzawa during the reign of Mursili's son Hattusili III (KUB XXXI 69 (CTH 590)), and one to the Land of Arzawa in a letter probably written to Hattusili's queen Puduhepa (KBo VIII 23 (CTH 209.7)). On both this and the previous reference, see Bryce (1998 214). But these references are probably to Arzawa in its broader sense, rather than to Arzawa Minor or to any specific Arzawan kingdom.

If so, how do we account for the lack of any further reference to Arzawa Minor in Hittite records after Mursili's Arzawan campaigns? Very likely the kingdom now ceased to exist (thus Heinhold-Krahmer 1977 136-47). It had been a constant problem to Hatti, both because of its own vigorous anti-Hittite policies and actions as well as its

probable role as a nucleus for anti-Hittite western alliances, from at least as early as the western campaigns of Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I. Its king at this time, Kupanta-Kurunta, had fought against the Hittites, had been captured by them, and had escaped his captivity. Subsequently he had invaded Hittite subject territory (albeit only after Madduwatta had invaded *his* territory) and after being driven out still continued to threaten Hittite interests by forming an alliance with Madduwatta. Several decades later Arzawa Minor very likely led the Arzawan thrust into the Lower Land during Tudhaliya III's reign, it was seen by the pharaoh Amenhotep III as the new supreme power in Anatolia, its army under the command of Anzapahhaddu had destroyed a Hittite army sent by Suppiluliuma, forcing Suppiluliuma himself to take time out from his southeastern campaigns to conduct a retaliatory campaign against it, and it had constituted a dangerous threat to Hatti at the beginning of Mursili's reign, defying his ultimatums, and seducing Hittite allies or subjects in the west from their Hittite allegiance. Mursili may now have taken a decision to resolve the problem of Arzawa Minor for all time. He states that after its conquest he transported no less than 65,000 (or 66,000) of its inhabitants to the Hittite homeland. If this figure is correct, then he must have virtually depopulated the kingdom.[41] While transportation of conquered peoples became the regular aftermath of conquest, particularly in Suppiluliuma's and Mursili's reigns, and the numbers involved could sometimes run into the thousands, the logistics involved in transporting tens of thousands of 'booty-people' over hundreds of kilometres of largely inhospitable terrain and quickly resettling them in the homeland seem beyond human capability. In fact it is likely that a large number of the tranportees were settled in other regions closer to hand.

The territory of the former kingdom must have been divided among one or more of the other Arzawan states which had remained firm in their Hittite allegiance. In the preamble to his treaty with Kupanta-Kurunta, king of Mira-Kuwaliya, Mursili indicates the arrangements he now made with these states: 'To the lands which I left as they were, I assigned the (following) boundaries: the Seha River Land I gave to Manapa-Tarhunta, the Land of Hapalla I gave

[41] Košak (1981 15) comments that the total numbers of transportees could have been no less than 50,000, and might have been as high as 100,000.

to Targasnalli, the Land of Mira and the Land of Kuwaliya I gave (back) to Mashuiluwa' (Kupanta-Kurunta treaty (CTH 68), sec. 3, B i 16-19). Separate treaties were drawn up with each of the kings appointed or whose appointments were confirmed by Mursili, formalizing the vassal status conferred on each of them as well as stipulating the relationship between them. They were forbidden to quarrel or engage in hostilities with one another. They were united by the oath they swore and were to have the same enemies and the same friends amongst their neighbours; that is to say a neighbouring land could not be at peace with one of them and an enemy to the others. An enemy to one was an enemy to all, and they were obliged to make war in common on their enemies. The Hittite king reserved the right to judge legal disputes between his vassal rulers who (depending on the nature of the dispute) must either appear before him in person or send local noblemen to him as their representatives.[42] The treaties also contained the standard provisions which obliged the vassals to hand over to the king refugees from his authority, to supply early reports of any rebellious activities brewing in their region, and to provide the king with military support when called upon to do so, particularly when he was campaigning nearby. Unilaterally imposed agreements such as these were vital elements in the maintenance of Hittite authority by political and diplomatic means in regions where this authority had initially been imposed by force. The treaties were frequently violated, especially in the western subject states. Nonetheless they helped ensure at least temporary stability in the regions to which they applied, enabling the vassal's overlord to commit his resources to other regions in need of his prompt attention.

While vassalhood may have been forcibly imposed on some of the local rulers, it probably sat lightly upon them if they remained true to their Hittite allegiance, and in fact gave them some guarantee of Hittite support should they find their position imperilled by rival claimants to their throne. As we have already noted, there were occasions when a vassal owed his position entirely to Hittite diplomatic or military intervention on his behalf. This is illustrated by the preamble to Mursili's treaty with Kupanta-Kurunta, ruler of Mira-Kuwaliya, adopted son of Mashuiluwa the previous ruler and a direct appointee to the

[42] For these provisions, see Mursili's treaty with Targasnalli (CTH 67), secs. 8-10, rev. 2-24, transl. Beckman (1996 66-67).

vassal throne by his Hittite overlord. Mursili highlights the appointment as an act of grace and favour on his part, after Kupanta-Kurunta's adoptive father Mashuiluwa had been driven from the throne for his treacherous conduct. In Hittite custom a son could be held responsible and pay the penalty for the sins of his father (see Bryce 1998 232-233).

Mira was very likely the chief beneficiary of the new arrangements made by Mursili in western Anatolia following his two-year campaign in the region. Its territory was probably substantially increased at this time by apportioning to it much if not all of the former territory of the kingdom of Arzawa Minor. With such an addition it would have been unquestionably the largest member of the Arzawan complex, and politically and militarily the most important.

No doubt Mursili carefully weighed up the advantages of substantially bolstering the power and prestige of a western Anatolian state against the possible risks which this entailed. At the outset he could reasonably expect Mashuiluwa, the man he initially appointed, or reinstated, as ruler of Mira, to be a reliable agent of Hittite authority both in his own kingdom as well as in the region at large. Mashuiluwa had been granted asylum at Hattusa by Suppiluliuma after his expulsion from his own land by his brothers.[43] Suppiluliuma had also married him to his daughter Muwatti, a clear indication of his intention to restore the refugee to his kingdom as its ruler. However the task of putting Mashuiluwa on, or back on, the throne of Mira was one which fell to Mursili. Whether he did this before or after his campaigns against Uhhaziti and his son Piyama-Kurunta remains uncertain. But Mashuiluwa certainly participated in these campaigns, providing his overlord with staunch and able support. Indeed the role he played in them may have contributed significantly to their ultimate success. No doubt Mursili hoped that under Mashuiluwa Mira would become a major bastion of Hittite influence in the west.

Yet this could not be taken for granted. Even with a loyal Hittite subject on its throne, Mira's population was probably far from united

[43] Sec. 2 of the Kupanta-Kurunta treaty. Although his status before his expulsion is not clear, the wording of sec. 3 of the treaty ('.... the Land of Mira and the Land of Kuwaliya I gave back to Mashuiluwa, and I gave back to him the house of his brother and the throne of his father.') may indicate that he had already held kingship in Mira, or was at least the legitimate successor to the throne. Cf. the comments of Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 79-80) and Del Monte (1974 356-357).

on the matter of where its allegiances lay. The fact that Mashuiluwa had fled to Hatti after his disputes with his brothers suggests that his expulsion had as much to do with his pro-Hittite sympathies as with an intra-dynastic wrangle. It may well be that prior to Mursili's Arzawan campaigns moves were underway in Mira to sever all connections with Hatti and to establish closer links with Arzawa Minor, perhaps with a view to making a drive against Hatti territory similar to that which occurred in the reign of Tudhaliya III. I have suggested elsewhere that after Mashuiluwa's flight, Mira-Kuwaliya had been occupied by troops from Arzawa (possibly at the invitation of Mashuiluwa's brothers) under the command of the prince Piyama-Kurunta, and that Mashuiluwa had been sent back to Mira-Kuwaliya ahead of the main Hittite expeditionary force in order to begin operations against Piyama-Kurunta (see Bryce 1974 113 and *AM* pp. 38-39). It is possible that Mashuiluwa had only limited support from his own people in this enterprise. Even after the successful conclusion of the Arzawan campaign, his Hittite overlord still had serious reservations about the loyalty of Mira's population, and felt obliged to resort to the comparatively rare practice of stationing a permanent garrison in the country (see *AM* pp. 74-75 and cf. the comments of Heinhold-Krahmer 1977 120).

In any case the loyalty of Mashuiluwa was not to last. In the twelfth year of his reign, word reached Mursili of a fresh outbreak of rebellion in Arzawa. It was led by a man called É.GAL.PAP (the Hittite reading of his name is unknown) of obscure status and origin. True to his oath of allegiance and his treaty obligations, Mashuiluwa reported the rebellion to Mursili, at that time involved with affairs in the northeastern and southeastern parts of his kingdom. Yet for reasons unknown to us Mashuiluwa quarrelled with Mursili, broke off his Hittite allegiance, incited the land of Pedassa to rebellion and joined forces with É.GAL.PAP.[44]

Mursili led an expeditionary force to the region, but still hoped, even as he approached Mashuiluwa's kingdom, that the rebel vassal could be persuaded, or intimidated, into submission without the need for military intervention. On reaching Sallapa, which lay on the route to the Arzawa lands, Mursili demanded that the vassal appear before

[44] These events are recorded in the Kupanta-Kurunta treaty, secs. 4 and 18. See also *AM* pp. 142-143.

him. But fearing either to enter the king's presence or to make a stand against him, Mashuiluwa fled to the land of Masa (Kupanta-Kurunta treaty, sec. 5). A stern message was delivered to the people of Masa, demanding the surrender of Mashuiluwa. Aware that the refugee did not have the support of the nobility of his own country, and fearing that he had now become an embarrassing, even dangerous, liability, the authorities at Masa called upon him to give himself up. When he refused to do so, they handed him over to his overlord. He was taken to Hattusa and assigned a place of residence there, in permanent exile from his own land.

A significant feature of this whole episode is the pro-Hittite stand taken by the nobility of Mira, in the face of their ruler's defection. The latter may in fact have had no option but to flee his country, yet again, when he failed to gain the support of his own people, or at least of the leading elements amongst them, in his quarrel with Hatti. It appears from a fragmentary passage[45] that the nobles of Mira totally dissociated themselves from their king's actions. One cannot of course be sure how accurate a picture Mursili is presenting here of the political sympathies of Mira. Nevertheless, it does give a rather different impression of Mira's relationship with Hatti than was evident at the conclusion of Mursili's Arzawan campaign. The likelihood is that when Mashuiluwa occupied or reoccupied the vassal throne, he filled the most important positions in his kingdom with persons whose loyalty to Hatti was assured, and who maintained (or were induced to maintain) this loyalty even when their leader abandoned it. As we have noted, Mursili now appointed the childless Mashuiluwa's nephew and adopted son Kupanta-Kurunta as king in his uncle's place, at the urging of the Miran nobility. His token show of reluctance to do so partly reflected the view (as noted above) that the sins of the fathers should be visited upon their sons, and also gave him the opportunity for a show of magnanimity to the new vassal ruler.[46]

This episode marks the last occasion on which we hear of rebellion or unrest in the Arzawa lands, and amongst the western Anatolian lands in general, for the remainder of Mursili's reign. We must always be cautious of arguing from silence, but on the basis of the

[45] KUB XIV 24, which Goetze assigns to Mursili's twelfth year (*AM* pp. 142 ff.).

[46] Cf. the comments of Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 190-193) on Mashuiluwa's defection and its aftermath.

evidence presently available to us, we may reasonably assign to Mursili credit for one of the greatest achievements of a Hittite king—the imposition of Hittite control over a large part of western Anatolia, most notably the Arzawa lands, a reconfiguration of the geo-political map of the region, and the conferring of a *pax Hethitica* in the region which lasted at least until the end of his reign and probably into the first years of that of his son and successor Muwattalli.

2.6 *Further Unrest amongst the Western States*

After perhaps almost two decades of relative peace in western Anatolia, the region's stability was increasingly threatened by new disturbances. The first of these involved a rebel Hittite subject of high birth called Piyamaradu who had begun building a power base for himself amongst the Hittites' western subject territories.[47] At the same time Ahhiyawa was taking an increasingly active interest in western Anatolian affairs, and Piyamaradu may well have seen certain advantages in forming an alliance with its king. Also at this time Millawanda seems to have come under Ahhiyawan control. Formerly Hittite subject territory, it had by now a substantially Mycenaean character and may have been ceded by Muwattalli to an Ahhiyawan /Mycenaean overlord in the hope that this would satisfy Mycenaean territorial ambitions in Anatolia without making inroads into other Hittite subject territories in the region (suggested by Bryce 1998 244). Muwattalli may well have been amenable to such concessions, given his increasing preoccupation with affairs in Syria where a major showdown was looming with Egypt. Perhaps in this context a pact was made with Ahhiyawa over territorial boundaries in the west in the hope that competing territorial interests could be resolved through diplomacy. A fragmentary text which refers to Tarhuntassa, Mira, and Ahhiyawa and indicates boundaries may belong to such a context, and perhaps defined the limits of Ahhiyawan-controlled territory in Anatolia (KUB XXXI 29 (CTH 214.16), ed. Sommer 1932 328).

Yet Muwattalli seemed quite unable to curb Piyamaradu's activities, which brought his erstwhile subject into contact and

[47] For a detailed treatment of his activities, see Heinhold-Krahmer (1983, 1986). Hawkins (1998b 17) comments that though he is commonly referred to as a 'free-booter', there is no reason to doubt that he was another refractory Arzawan prince pursuing traditional goals.

sometimes conflict with the Arzawa lands. Early in Muwattalli's reign Piyamaradu gained control of the kingdom of Wilusa, the northernmost of the Arzawa lands.

We have noted that Wilusa first appears in Hittite texts, in the form Wilusiya, as the penultimate name in the list of twenty-two countries which formed the Assuwan confederacy. The last name in the list is Taruisa. As long ago as the 1920s the Swiss scholar Emil Forrer drew attention in a series of articles to the close similarity between these names and the Greek (W)ilios and Troia, arguing that the names provided evidence for references to Ilion and Troy (both names are used of Troy in Greek Classical tradition) in Hittite texts. His proposal has since then been the subject of much debate, and the object of much criticism. However most scholars now favour the identification. It has been claimed that on linguistic grounds the Wilusa-(W)ilios equation is quite tenable,[48] and as we have seen, there is now strong textual support for a localization of Wilusa in the far northwest of Anatolia, i.e. in the region of the Classical Troad.

If valid, the equation gives rise to some interesting conclusions and speculations. In the first place it would go a long way to confirming the view that the Trojans of level VI, if not also their predecessors, were a Luwian-speaking people. Secondly it would provide a firmer basis for arguing the fundamental historicity of the tradition of a Trojan War. That is to say, on the basis of the equation we could claim to have contemporary historical records of the site and people of the Trojan War. Do the few scraps of historical information which the Anatolian texts provide about Wilusa have any correlation with events narrated in the *Iliad*?

The list of countries in the Assuwan confederacy has sometimes been compared with Homer's catalogue of Troy's allies, the so-called Trojan Catalogue, in Book II of the *Iliad*. Indeed it was once claimed that the two corresponded strikingly in makeup and geographical extension (Albright 1950 169; cf. Stubbings 1975 349-350). In fact the correspondence is very slight, and in any case the once held view that the Assuwan confederacy belonged to the thirteenth century, the most historically and archaeologically appropriate period for Homer's Trojan War, is no longer tenable. The text which records it is one of

[48] See Güterbock (1986 35), who proposes Wilusa > *Wiluwa > *Wiluas > Wilios, and also Truisa > Truiya > Tröiē. Contra the latter, see Gurney (1990 46).

the texts which have been redated from the late empire, in the thirteenth century, to a period some two centuries earlier (see e.g. Houwink ten Cate 1970). All that can usefully be said of the Trojan Catalogue in a historical Anatolian context is that it reflects, very broadly, the kind of alliance of countries that was common in western Anatolia during the Late Bronze, as illustrated by the Assuwan confederacy.

In reference to the confederacy, we might note in passing an inscription on a recently published silver bowl of unknown provenance or origin in the Ankara museum which records the conquest of a place called Tarwiza by a king called Tudhaliya (see Hawkins 1997a). It is tempting to link this reference with the conquest of Taruisa (and other western countries in the Assuwan confederacy) by Tudhaliya I/II. That would, however, make the inscription by far the earliest known of the Luwian hieroglyphic texts, apart from those appearing on seals, so that its dating remains in some doubt. Nonetheless it does provide us with a further possible historical reference to the site, or at least to the region, in which Homer's *Iliad* is set.

Following the reference to Wilusiya in Tudhaliya I/II's Annals, the country Wilusa does not appear again in our texts until the treaty of the Wilusan king Alaksandu with Muwattalli. The treaty is probably to be dated ca. 1380, some five years before Muwattalli's showdown with Ramses II in the battle of Qadesh. As we have noted, its historical preamble makes vague reference to a time when Wilusa made war on and defected from Hatti. But this was long in the past, and Muwattalli was not even sure of who had been on the Hittite throne when Wilusa's alleged rebellion occurred. The emphasis in the preamble is on Wilusa's conspicuous loyalty and peaceful state since that time—in contrast to its Arzawan neighbours. Alaksandu is urged to follow in this tradition, and where necessary to take an active role in maintaining Hittite authority in the region and supporting his fellow Arzawan kings, the terms of the treaty acquiring a particular note of urgency, perhaps, in view of the disturbing new developments in the region and Muwattalli's pressing need to commit all his available resources to Syria. In this region too Alaksandu could be called upon to provide his overlord with military support: 'But from Hatti, these are the military obligations for you: The Kings who are the equals of My Majesty—the King of Egypt, the King of Babylonia, the King of Hanigalbat, or the King of Assyria—if [someone] in this group

comes in battle, or if domestically someone carries out a revolt against My Majesty, and I, My Majesty, write to you for infantry and chariotry, then send <infantry and> chariotry to my aid immediately.' (transl. Beckman.)

Only three personal names are known to us from Wilusa, two in this treaty. We hear of a predecessor of Alaksandu, a king called Kukkunni, who occupied the vassal throne during the reign of Muwattalli's grandfather Suppiluliuma. Neither Kukkunni nor Alaksandu is a recognisably Anatolian name, though the first bears a resemblance to Kukkuli (see Güterbock 1986 34). Alaksandu recalls the name of the Trojan prince Alexander Paris, and has led to speculation that the two are somehow connected.[49] Of course attempts to link Homeric tradition with Anatolian history on the basis of name similarities have little if any validity when treated in isolation. Other material, however, may provide slightly firmer grounds for the supposed link, and to this we shall return.

At the time of Muwattalli's treaty with Alaksandu, the Arzawan kingdom called the Seha River Land was still ruled by Manapa-Tarhunta, who had apparently remained loyal to his Hittite allegiance since his submission to Muwattalli's father Mursili in the fourth year of the latter's reign. But Manapa-Tarhunta must now have been well advanced in years and had apparently reached a stage where he was quite incapable of providing his overlord with effective support in his region. Such support was becoming increasingly urgent in view of the aggressive enterprises of Piyamaradu and the ominous interest that Ahhiyawa was taking in western Anatolia. True to his Hittite allegiance and perhaps fearing an attack on his own kingdom, Manapa-Tarhunta had attempted to dislodge Piyamaradu from Wilusa by military force, but was repulsed and suffered a humiliating defeat. That was sufficient to deter him from further action against his conqueror. He declined even to join forces with the Hittite military commander Gassu whom Muwattalli had sent to deal with Piyamaradu. In a letter to Muwattalli he apologized for not doing so, claiming illness as his excuse: 'I, however, became ill. I am seriously ill, I am laid low by illness!' (KUB XIX 5 (CTH 191) + KBo XIX 79 5-6. transl. Houwink ten Cate).

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[49] Güterbock (1986 34) points out that the name has no recognizable meaning in Hittite or Luwian, and suggests that it could be a foreign import.

It was a critical time in western Anatolian affairs. Muwattalli wanted strong stable vassal leadership in the west and as little distraction as possible in this region as he prepared for his campaigns in Syria. In such a context Manapa-Tarhunta had clearly become a serious liability. No doubt it was this which prompted Muwattalli to remove his aged and ailing vassal from his throne, and to appoint a man called Masturi, probably his son, in his place.[50] An effective leader in the Seha River Land was to become vital to the security of Hittite interests in the west.

Equally vital was the role played by the ruler of Mira-Kuwaliya. We recall that in the twelfth year of his reign, Mursili had appointed Kupanta-Kurunta to the vassal throne after deposing his adoptive father Mashuiluwa. Kupanta-Kurunta had apparently remained loyal to his Hittite allegiance, and unlike his fellow vassal-ruler Manapa-Tarhunta had reinforced the Hittite expeditionary force against Piyamaradu. The outcome of this expedition to liberate Wilusa is not recorded in any of our surviving texts, but from the subsequent treaty which Muwattalli drew up with Wilusa's legitimate king Alaksandu, the vassal kingdom had apparently been freed from Piyamaradu's control. Piyamaradu himself, however, had escaped capture by the Hittites, very likely finding temporary refuge with the Ahhiyawan king. He was to continue his anti-Hittite activities in the region for many years to come.

Several frustratingly incomplete texts link him with Mira. He is mentioned in the same context as Mira in KBo XVI 35 and together with Mira's ruler Kupanta-Kurunta in KBo XIX 78 and KBo XXVII 4. Insufficient of the texts survive to indicate what the link was. They could conceivably indicate an alliance between Hittite renegade and vassal ruler, or else hostilities between the two and perhaps an attempted takeover of Mira by Piyamaradu. The second alternative seems more likely, in view of Kupanta-Kurunta's support of the Hittite expedition against Piyamaradu during his occupation of Wilusa, and Kupanta-Kurunta's subsequent support of Muwattalli's son Urhi-Teshub in the latter's conflict with his uncle Hattusili (see below).

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[50] Cf. Houwink ten Cate (1994 241). Masturi's appointment is referred to in a later document, the treaty between Tudhaliya IV and Shaushgamuwa, king of Amurru, KUB XXIII 1 (CTH 105) ii 15-19. While it is highly likely that Masturi was Manapa-Tarhunta's son, there is no direct evidence to this effect; see Hawkins (1998b 16 n. 70).

Muwattalli was succeeded by his son Urhi-Teshub, whose reign had, allegedly, the endorsement and guidance of his uncle Hattusili. But the deteriorating relations between uncle and nephew which led to civil war and the eventual overthrow of Urhi-Teshub had a further destabilizing effect on the western Anatolian states, which were very likely caught up in the conflict.[51] Masturi, appointed by Muwattalli as ruler of the Seha River Land in place of his father, supported Hattusili, scornfully rejecting Urhi-Teshub as a mere 'second-rank son' (*paḫḫurzi*). The kings of other Arzawan lands apparently remained loyal to Urhi-Teshub, including Kupanta-Kurunta and another unnamed Arzawan king (for the latter, see KUB XXXI 69 obv. 7 = KUB XV 6 ii (CTH 590)). But the conflict probably came to an end, with Hattusili's victory and seizure of the throne, before the western vassals became actively involved in it. Urhi-Teshub was banished, but fled his place of banishment in Syria and henceforth resisted all attempts by Hattusili to recapture him. He clearly had his sights set on regaining his throne, and while he remained at large, there was some uncertainty amongst Hittite vassal rulers as well as the king's foreign counterparts as to who was the rightful ruler of the Hittite world.

Illustrative of this was a letter which Kupanta-Kurunta wrote to the pharaoh Ramses II, asking him, apparently, whether he supported Urhi-Teshub or Hattusili. In reply Ramses had unequivocally endorsed Hattusili.[52] The importance of this endorsement can hardly be over-estimated, for without it Kupanta-Kurunta may well have broken his ties with Hatti. Indeed, he was fully entitled to do so under the standard terms in the treaties which Hittite kings drew up with their vassals. These terms bound the vassal only to his treaty-partner and the latter's legitimate successors. It explicitly freed him from any obligation of allegiance to a usurper. As Mira was now undoubtedly the largest and most powerful of the western Anatolian states, its loss

[51] The main source for these events, on which see Bryce (1998 284-288), is the so-called Apology of Hattusili III (CTH 81), ed. Otten (1981).

[52] KBo I 24 + KUB III 23 + KUB III 84 (= ÄHK I no. 28, pp. 74-77), obv. 9-13, transl. Beckman (1996 124). The letter was clearly written in response to one, no longer surviving, from Kupanta-Kurunta. According to Beckman, its discovery in Hattusa reflects the diplomatic protocol which required Ramses to send his reply via the Hittite capital. It was obviously never forwarded to Kupanta-Kurunta.

to the Hittites could well have had a catastrophic effect on the entire western complex of Hittite subject states.

On his accession Hattusili depended very heavily for the maintenance of his authority in the west on three Arzawa Lands:

(1) In the far north Wilusa, whose loyalty might be counted on, but it was the farthest removed from Hatti in terms of the likely military routes to the region, was vulnerable to enemy occupation, and probably could contribute little if anything to the security of the region in general.
(2) The Seha River Land, which occupied a strategically important location between Wilusa and Mira. It was at that time ruled by Masturi, on whose support Hattusili could apparently rely, but who must now have been well advanced in years.[53]
(3) Mira-Kuwaliya, whose king Kupanta-Kurunta might well have questioned the legitimacy of Hattusili's occupancy of the throne and who, in spite of Ramses' endorsement of Hattusili, might still not be completely relied upon, given the opportunities for forming other alliances in the region. Piyamaradu was still at large and continuing to pose a serious threat to Hittite interests in the region. Ahhiyawa had firmly established an Anatolian base at Millawanda and might well seek to extend its influence and authority on the Anatolian mainland beyond this, perhaps in collaboration with Piyamaradu. And reports were now reaching Hattusa of a serious uprising in the region called the Lukka Lands.

2.7 *Lukka in the context of Western Anatolian History*

While reviewing the history of the Luwian regions of western Anatolia, we should consider the role played by Lukka within this history, as far as we can determine this from the scattered and often fragmentary nature of the references to it. We have suggested above that a distinction might be drawn between narrowly and broadly based uses of the term: while there appears to have been a specific Lukka region or 'homeland', in some contexts the term may have extended

[53] It was no doubt this consideration which prompted Hattusili's desperate appeal to Ramses for doctors to assist his sister Massanauzzi (Matanazi in Ramses' response), wife of Masturi, to bear children (KBo XXVIII 30 (= ÄHK I no. 75), obv. 8-rev. 8).

to all Luwian-speaking peoples and Luwian-occupied regions of Anatolia. How evident is this distinction in the texts?

The earliest *apparent* reference to Lukka appears in the Annals of Tudhaliya I/II, where the name *L]uqqa* appears first in the list of twenty-two countries forming the anti-Hittite Assuwan confederacy. The list which ends with Wilusiya and Taruisa, has been seen as reflecting a south-north progression of allied states beginning with the region later called Lycia in the south and ending in the Troad. If, as is very likely, the first name in the list has been correctly restored,[54] it provides the first attestation we have of the name Lukka, which makes its *entrée* in history as part of an anti-Hittite military coalition. The reference here would be consistent with a specific region in the southwest of Anatolia

A second possible reference to Lukka in this narrow regional sense occurs in the 'Indictment of Madduwatta'. The name Lukka is not explicitly used in the text, but a number of place-names which appear in the context of Madduwatta's military enterprises are generally assumed to be those of towns or communities located in Lukka territory. Two of these, Dalawa and Hinduwa, had rebelled against Hittite rule and been induced by Madduwatta to join forces with him for an attack on the Hittite expeditionary force sent to deal with them (Indictment secs. 13-15). Other communities in the region—Iyalanda, Zumarri, and Wallarimma—apparently held out against Madduwatta and were eventually taken by force of arms. Whether or not they were Lukka settlements is not altogether certain, their identification as such resting on a chain of assumptions (see Bryce 1992 126). However, we can be more confident that Dalawa and Hinduwa were located in Lukka territory in its narrower sense, particularly in view of the correlation of their names with those of the later Lycian settlements Tlawa (Greek Tlos) and Kandyba. Zumarri can perhaps be identified with the later Lycian coastal city of Limyra, whose Lycian name was Zẽmure. Further, Dalawa also appears in the hieroglyphic inscription found in 1971 at Yalburt (to the northeast of modern Konya) which reports a campaign conducted by the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV against the Lukka Lands and Wiyanawanda towards

[54] Garstang and Gurney (1959 106-107) suggest *Ard]uqqa* as an alternative.

the end of the thirteenth century.[55] The fact that Dalawa is mentioned as one of the cities visited by Tudhaliya during the course of the campaign (Yalburt inscription Block 14, line 4) directly links this city with the Lukka region.

A letter from the archive of correspondence found at Amarna in Egypt contains one of the few surviving non-Hittite references to Lukka. The letter EA 38, written by the king of Alasiya (Cyprus or part thereof) to the pharaoh Akhenaten, complains of yearly raids which people of the 'Land of Lukki' had been making on villages in Alasiya. They had now extended their freebooting activities to Egypt, thereby causing some tension in Egypt's relations with Alasiya. The Alasiyan king's letter was apparently written in response to accusations by Akhenaten that his subjects were acting in collaboration with the Lukka people. The letter confirms that Lukka territory included a shoreline, presumably on Anatolia's southern coast, from which pirates had been launching regular expeditions against coastal cities and no doubt shipping in the eastern Mediterranean region. In this respect they foreshadowed the activities of Cilician pirates of later times.

Lukka subsequently appears as a rebel against Hatti amongst a group of countries which renounced Hittite rule in the reign of Mursili II, referred to by the king in a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna: 'Moreover those countries which belong to the Land of Hatti, (namely) the Land of Kaska, also the Land of Arawanna, the Land of Kalasma, the Land of Lukka, the Land of Pedassa—these lands have also renounced the Sun-goddess of Arinna... . Now all the surrounding countries have begun to attack the Land of Hatti. Let it again become a matter of concern to the Sun-goddess of Arinna! O God, bring not your name into disrepute!' (Mursili's Prayer to the Sun-goddess, KUB XXIV 3 and duplicates (CTH 376) ii 38'-53', after Goetze 1969 396). The events referred to here are probably to be assigned to Mursili's first years on the throne. As we have noted, Mursili's Annals for his early years record widespread rebellions and enemy action against Hatti from all directions. In this context the term Lukka is very likely used in its more extended sense to refer hostile Luwian lands, including perhaps the turncoat states Arzawa

[55] On the inscription, see Hawkins (1992; 1995a 66-85). Wiyanawanda lay in the border zone of the kingdom of Mira-Kuwaliya at the time of Mursili II's two-year Arzawan campaigns; see Bryce (1974 105-106).

Minor and the Seha River Land which were the specific targets of Mursili's campaigns in the third and fourth years of his reign.

Section 11 of the Alaksandu treaty refers to 'a city of Lukka' as one of the possible starting points, along with Karkisa, Masa, and Warsiyalla, from which a Hittite campaign might be launched. The treaty imposed upon Alaksandu, whose kingdom lay at the very northern end of the Luwian regions, the obligation of providing his overlord with military support if such a campaign eventuated. Here again it is more likely that the term Lukka is used broadly of the Luwian regions of western Anatolia in general rather than of a specific region in the far south—far from Alaksandu's kingdom and possibly also from the main routes of communication between Hatti and the west.

Further references to Lukka appear in the fragmentary remains of the Annals of Hattusili III. These remains apparently consist of three fragments: KUB XXI 6, KUB XXI 6a, KUB XXXI 19.[56] The Lukka Lands appear four times in total in the combined fragments, unfortunately on each occasion in contexts too broken for us to determine what their role as recorded in this document was. Yet it seems clear that this sole surviving and very mutilated section of the king's Annals has to do with a series of raids upon if not a full-scale comprehensive invasion of Hittite subject territory in the west or southwest (cf. Gurney 1997 138; Freu 1987 139 ff.). Whatever the scale of the operations, the Lukka Lands were closely involved, as Gurney notes, either as aggressor or as victim. The whole purpose of this tablet was to record the restoration of order in the Lukka Lands, a conclusion based to a large extent on the assumption that many of the names referred to in the text seem to denote places in later Lycia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, or Isauria.

Several scholars have sought to combine the events dealt with here with those outlined in the well known document commonly and inappropriately referred to as the 'Tawagalawa Letter' (KUB XIV 3 (CTH 181), ed. Sommer 1932 2-194). The author of the letter is now generally identified as Hattusili III.[57] Its addressee was a king of

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[56] Most recently discussed and correlated by Gurney (1997), with a transliteration and translation.

[57] Although the author is not named in the surviving portion of the text, its attribution to Hattusili III is almost universally accepted; see Güterbock (1983a 135); Heinhold-Krahmer (1983 95-97); Houwink ten Cate (1983-84 34), and other refer-

Ahhiyawa whose name is lost. He was presumably identified at the beginning of the letter, but only the third of three tablets on which the letter was written has survived. The surviving tablet begins with a reference to the destruction of the city of Attarimma,[58] then follows a reference to 'Lukka men' who had made approaches to Tawagalawa (the brother of the Ahhiyawan king, and at that time present on the Anatolian mainland) and to Hattusili, both of whom had come to 'these lands', which are not more specifically identified. This passage is the continuation of a narrative which had not been completed by the end of the second tablet. Had this tablet survived, it would no doubt have made clear what 'these lands' were, and why the Lukka men had made approaches both to Tawagalawa and to the Hittite king. It should also be noted that the letter, or at least its surviving portion, is concerned primarily with the activities of Piyamaradu and only incidentally with Tawagalawa (see Heinhold-Krahmer 1983 95-97; Singer 1983 209-210).

In the letter Hattusili complains to his Ahhiyawan counterpart of Piyamaradu's practice of raiding Hittite subject territory and removing large numbers of Hittite subjects, designated as NAM.RA.MEŠ, from it. Some apparently went willingly, others were taken by force. I have suggested elsewhere that they were temporarily relocated in Anatolian territory which Piyamaradu had occupied (referred to as 'these lands' in Hattusili's letter) before they were transhipped to Ahhiyawa (Bryce 1992 126). The two approaches apparently made by the Lukka people, as stated by Hattusili in his letter, probably reflect the two groups of NAM.RA.MEŠ—those who had voluntarily left Hittite territory as fugitives (the ones who had appealed to Tawagalawa), and those who had been forcibly abducted (the ones who had appealed to Hattusili). Tawagalawa as representive of his brother, the Ahhiyawan king, had come to 'these lands' where the refugees were being held to arrange their transhipment to Ahhiyawa. Hattusili had come to 'these lands' to reassert his authority in the region and to effect the liberation of those NAM.RA.MEŠ who had been taken by Piyamaradu against their will. But he had arrived too

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ences cited by Singer (1983 209, n. 18). See also Hawkins (1998b 17 n. 73). However Gurney (2002) has now argued that the letter should be assigned to Muwattalli II.

[58] Hawkins (1998b 26-27) suggests an identification with Lycian Telmessos, contra Börker-Klahn's proposed identification (1993 62) with Termessos.

late to do this, and was now writing to the Ahhiyawan king in an attempt to persuade him to return the abductees.

We do not know whether he prevailed upon the Ahhiyawan king to do so, or at least to curb Piyamaradu's depredations in Hatti's subject territories. The likelihood is that he succeeded on neither score. Nor can we determine whether the campaigns involving the Lukka Lands as recorded in the meagre remains of Hattusili's Annals were connected with the events referred to in the Tawagalawa Letter. If they do in fact belong to the same context, then Hattusili's campaign took him considerably beyond Lukka in its narrow sense. This would not be surprising, given the likelihood of an increasingly unstable situation amongst the Hittites' western territories and the need for the king's direct intervention in the region. In this event Hattusili's military operations clearly had much wider application than would have been the case if the 'Lukka Lands' provided the main theatre of these operations but were confined to the region of Lukka in its narrow sense.

In some instances, then, our textual references appear to support the notion that the term Lukka could apply to Luwian peoples and regions in a general, non-specific way, as well as to a Lukka land in a more restricted, more location-specific sense. The plural form 'Lukka Lands', not attested before the thirteenth century, may indicate more explicitly the comprehensiveness with which the term could be used. But the singular form Lukka might also have had the same connotations, just as the names Arzawa and Arzawa Lands were both used of the complex making up the individual Arzawa kingdoms. Arzawa was also the name of a specific kingdom within the complex (at least until the early years of Mursili II's reign). So too Lukka was the name of a specific Luwian region, a Lukka homeland, in south-western Anatolia. It was within this region that the country called Lycia by the Greeks was located in the first millennium BCE.

2.8 *The Final Years of the Bronze Age Kingdoms*

Hattusili had on his death left a number of matters unresolved in the western part of his kingdom. Indeed his son and successor Tudhaliya IV may have inherited from his father a seriously deteriorating situation in the region. The problem of Ahhiyawa's ongoing interference in Hittite affairs had yet to be effectively dealt with; the Ahhiyawan king had apparently been lending support to anti-Hittite elements in

the Seha River Land where a serious crisis was emerging. There are also further references to hostilities with Lukka in the inscriptions of Tudhaliya's reign. In KUB XXVI 12 (*CTH* 255.1) ii 15, Lukka figures as enemy territory along with the country of Azzi and the Kaska lands. The term Lukka is perhaps used here in its broadest sense. We have also referred to the hieroglyphic inscription found at Yalburt which reports military operations conducted by Tudhaliya against the Lukka Lands and Wiyanawanda.[59] Lukka is probably used here in its more restricted sense of the region lying in the southwest of Anatolia. Wiyanawanda, which lay on the border of Mira-Kuwaliya, recalls the name Oinoanda, a northern Lycian town of the Greco-Roman period; it *possibly* occupied the same site.

The crisis in the Seha River Land was associated with the end of the reign of Masturi. This long-time liegeman of Hatti still occupied the vassal throne on Tudhaliya's accession,[60] but after having done so for some forty years since his appointment by Muwattalli he was an old man when Tudhaliya became Great King. He had produced no heirs, and was finally overthrown in a palace coup. His throne was seized by one Tarhunaradu, otherwise unknown and apparently an upstart with no direct family connections with the kingdom's previous rulers. What he did have, however, was the support of the King of Ahhiyawa.[61]

Retention of the Seha River Land was vital to the maintenance of Hittite authority in the west. Had he failed to take prompt action, Tudhaliya might well have been faced with the total collapse of the Hittite western vassal system, particularly given Ahhiyawa's increasingly prominent and sometimes aggressive role in the region. But Tudhaliya met the crisis without delay. Perhaps in the same context as his campaign against the Lukka Lands, he marched against the rebel state, crushed the rebellion, captured Tarhunaradu and his family, and transported them back to Hatti, along with many other prisoners and 500 teams of horse. He then restored the vassal throne

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[59] Wiyanawanda lay in the border zone of the kingdom of Mira-Kuwaliya at the time of Mursili II's two-year Arzawan campaigns; see Bryce (1974 105-106).

[60] Since he was one of the signatories to the treaty which Tudhaliya drew up with Kurunta (bronze tablet sec. 27, iv 32).

[61] This information is supplied by the text KUB XXIII 13 (CTH 211.4). The reference to the Ahhiyawan king's role is based on Güterbock's interpretation and translation of the relevant words: 'Thereafter Tarhunaradu waged war and relied on the king of Ahhiyawa.' (Güterbock 1992 242).

to the family of the previous dynasty, putting on it a 'descendant of Muwawalwi', father of Manapa-Tarhunta. (The name of the new ruler is lost in the missing portion of the relevant part of the text.)

In spite of Tudhaliya's apparent success in his campaign against Lukka and his undoubted success in reasserting Hittite authority in the Seha River Land, the situation in the west remained volatile, and would almost certainly continue to do so while Ahhiyawa persisted in intervening in Hittite subject territory, either directly or through supporting local dissidents. We must however stress that our perceptions of Ahhiyawan involvement in the region are totally dependent on what our Hittite sources tell us. From the Hittite point of view the Ahhiyawan king appears in the role of foreign aggressor who supports the activities of insurrectionists and rebels in the region, with little apparent respect or regard for the subject territory of a brother-king. That may *not* have been the perception of at least some of the western Anatolian states. They could well have seen closer links with Ahhiyawa as more beneficial, particularly for commercial reasons, than an ongoing relationship with Hatti—one which had been forced upon them, and which in the manner of the terms unilaterally imposed by Hittite overlords banned any direct dealings between them and a foreign power. We should not ignore the possibility that Ahhiyawa's role in Anatolian affairs was much more welcome locally than the texts from the archives in Hattusa might lead us to believe.

Further important information on developments in western Anatolia is provided by the so-called Milawata letter (KUB XIX 55 (CTH 182)). A comparatively recently discovered text-join to this well-known fragmentary document has added some useful new material to what had already been gleaned from it (KUB XLVIII 90; see Hoffner 1982). Though neither author's nor addressee's name appears in what is left of the text, the former can quite confidently be identified as the king Tudhaliya IV (see Güterbock 1983a 137; Bryce 1985 17). Different views have been expressed about the identity of the letter's recipient, who was a western Anatolian ruler (see Singer 1983 216; Bryce 1985 21-22). Most recently Hawkins (1998b 19) has argued that he is to be identified with Tarkasnawa, who we now know occupied the throne of Mira during the latter years of Tudhaliya's reign (see below).

Of particular interest to our study of the Luwian kingdoms of western Anatolia in this period is information which the text-join has provided about a hitherto unknown king of Wilusa called Walmu,

and the events in which he was involved. Although this information is still far from complete we can reconstruct some of the details. Apparently Walmu had been deposed and fled his country, in circumstances unknown to us. He was presently in the custody of the addressee of the Milawata letter whose father had been hostile to the Hittites and had made attacks on Hittite subject territory. The father had now been succeeded by his apparently pro-Hittite son. Tudhaliya was seeking to restore Walmu to his throne (which he may have lost because of his loyalty to Hatti), and asked the recipient of his letter to deliver Walmu to him as the first step towards his restoration: 'Now, my son, send Walmu to me, and I will install him as king again in Wilusa.'

Whoever the local king thus addressed by Tudhaliya was, it seems that he was to continue to have some authority over Walmu, perhaps as a kind of regional overlord. This may be inferred from Tudhaliya's statement: 'As Walmu was previously our *kulawaniš* vassal (i.e. the vassal of both Tudhaliya and the local ruler), so let him (again) be a *kulawaniš* vassal!' The meaning of *kulawaniš* is not clear, but it was probably part of the terminology used to indicate a new power-sharing arrangement in the west, with a local ruler being granted direct authority over at least one other vassal kingdom in the region. Such an arrangement would have marked a distinct divergence from previous Hittite policy, which gave no local ruler precedence over any other, and insisted that each deal directly with and be answerable exclusively to the Hittite king. By conceding more extensive authority to a local ruler, Tudhaliya no doubt sought to achieve greater and longer lasting stability in the region, keeping it within the Hittite sphere of influence but with minimal Hittite involvement.

This is the last we hear of Wilusa, so we cannot be sure whether or not Walmu ever regained his throne. Nevertheless, the additional information provided by the text-join to the Milawata letter, even though meagre, makes an important contribution to our knowledge of western Anatolian history at this time. All the more so if Walmu's kingdom was the original of Homeric Troy. In this connection we can draw attention to the historical fact, revealed by the text-join to the Milawata letter, of a king of northwestern Anatolia being driven from his throne, and the possible involvement in his overthrow by a king of Ahhiyawa, i.e. a king of Mycenaean Greece (see Bryce 1998 395-396). We might also note the passing comment by Tudhaliya's

father Hattusili in the so-called Tawagalawa Letter to his Ahhiyawan counterpart that the latter's apparent activities in relation to Wilusa had been a possible provocation to war (KUB XIV 3 iv 7-10; see also Güterbock 1986 37).[62] We have the further information from the Milawata letter that Piyamaradu, who certainly had links with Ahhiyawa, had at one time invaded and occupied the land of Wilusa. Hence in the second half of the thirteenth century a pattern emerges of threats to and attacks on Wilusa, leading on one occasion to the occupation of its territory, on another to the deposition of its king, and apparently some involvement in one or more of these enterprises by Ahhiyawans or Mycenaean Greeks. That is as far as we can go in any attempted correlation between the few scraps of historical information about Wilusa and the tradition of a military conflict between Achaean Greeks and a kingdom of northwestern Anatolia distilled in Homeric epic into a ten-year 'Trojan War'.[63]

Our references to the Arzawa lands in Hittite texts are now almost at an end. But at this late stage in the Hittite Empire we have a further reference to the kingdom of Mira, or more specifically to its last known king, in the inscription from the Karabel monument referred to above. Hawkins notes the likelihood that the subject of the inscription, Tarkasnawa, was the son of Alantalli[64] and the last of three generations of kings of Mira, covering the period from Mursili II to Tudhaliya IV. His sculpture and inscription in the Karabel mountain pass confirm that by the last decades of the Late Bronze Age Mira's territory extended to Anatolia's western coast. Indeed it may already have extended this far from the early years of Mursili II's reign. As we have noted, Hawkins suggests that Tarkasnawa was the addressee of the Milawata letter. It would not be inappropriate for this, the ruler of what was undoubtedly the largest and most powerful of all the western Anatolian states—one on whose loyalty Tudhaliya

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[62] We have noted above (n. 57) the proposal by Gurney (2002) to assign the letter to Tudhaliya's uncle Muwattalli.

[63] Watkins (1986 58-62) has suggested that the remains of an Anatolian prototype of the *Iliad* are to be found in a Hittite ritual text, KBo IV 11 (CTH 772.1). But at present only a very small fragment of this text is known—too little to justify serious consideration of Watkins' suggestion. Cf. the comment by Macqueen (1986 166 n. 81).

[64] Now known from col. iv 36 of the bronze tablet as a king of Mira. Hawkins (1998b 17) suggests that he was Kupanta-Kurunta's son. For a detailed prosopographical discussion, see van den Hout (1995 142-149).

could apparently count—to be granted direct authority over Wilusa, and probably also over Milawata and other territories in the region, giving him the status of a regional *supremo*, subordinate and answerable only to the Great King of Hatti.

On the basis of our present information, we might reasonably conclude that by a combination of diplomatic and military means Tudhaliya left the west in a reasonably sound condition at the end of his reign. With his death all known records relating to the western Anatolian region would have come to an end but for the discovery of a hieroglyphic inscription in the so-called Südburg structure discovered in Hattusa in 1988 (see Hawkins 1995a). According to Hawkins' interpretation, the inscription records the conquest and annexation by Suppiluliuma II, son of Tudhaliya and the last known Hittite king, of the lands of Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Lukka, and Ikuna.[65] All of these lay in or near Luwian territory in southwestern Anatolia. In spite of the problems Suppiluliuma faced elsewhere in his realm, his operations in this region seem to indicate a continuing determination, inherited by the king from his father and grandfather, to maintain control over the Hittites' western territories, down to the kingdom's very last days. On the other hand, any campaigns he took in the west could just as well be interpreted as rearguard actions designed to protect or buffer Hittite territories to the south of the homeland from concerted onslaughts against them from the west.

Hittite records cease with Suppiluliuma's reign, and we hear no more of the western Anatolian Luwian populations—with two exceptions, both of which refer to Lukka. Within the context of the movements of the so-called Sea Peoples early in the twelfth century, Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit, wrote to the king of Alasiya. In his letter, which was written in response to an appeal for assistance from the Alasiyan king, Ammurapi highlights the critical situation confronting his own kingdom. He speaks of the seven ships of the enemy which had come and inflicted severe damage upon his land. It is impossible, he declares, for him to send any assistance to his Alasiyan counterpart, for his troops and chariots are in the Land of Hatti, and all his ships are 'in the Land of Lukka' (RS 18.147 = Nougayrol et al. 1968 (*Ugaritica* V) 87-9 no. 24). This very likely

[65] Contra Hawkins' interpretation that the inscription refers to military conquests, see Melchert (2002a).

means that they were stationed off the southwest coast of Anatolia—possibly, as Astour once claimed (1965 225), with the intention of defending the passage from the Aegean to the Mediterranean. We shall deal with the second late reference to Lukka below, within the context of the movements of the Sea Peoples.

3. *The Diffusion of Luwian-speakers*

Luwian-speaking peoples had become widely dispersed during the course of the Late Bronze Age, both because of the ongoing impetus of their own spread throughout Anatolia as well as through the impact of other peoples upon them. The Hittite campaigns into western Anatolian territory had resulted in substantial numbers of Luwian 'booty-people' along with livestock being transported back to the Hittite homeland, beginning in the reign of Tudhaliya I/II, and particularly in the reigns of Suppiluliuma I and his son Mursili II. As a result of these military campaigns alone there must have been thousands of Luwian-speakers inhabiting the Hatti Land by the end of the Hittite New Kingdom. According to the usual pattern of relocating transportees, they were probably settled mainly on farmlands and in peripheral areas of the homeland. They may also have come to provide a significant element in the king's militia as well as being allocated to the ranks of temple personnel. Luwian-speaking transportees to Hatti, like transportees in general, appear to have been rapidly assimilated into their new cultural and social environment. Yet given their large numbers, their overlord's policy of incorporating the gods of all conquered regions into the Hittite pantheon, and the generally eclectic character of Hittite civilization, Luwian elements along with Hurrian elements must have played a significant part in the social and cultural development of the Land of Hatti, particularly in the last century of the kingdom's existence.

On the other hand, the Hittites appear to have made little cultural impact on the regions over which they extended their authority, particularly in the west. Throughout the Late Bronze Age the links between Hatti and the Luwian-speaking groups of western Anatolia were tenuous and spasmodic, and primarily military and political. By contrast, the Luwians of this region probably had a much more comprehensive range of contacts with the Mycenaean Greek world, especially from the late fourteenth century onwards. The distribution of Mycenaean artifactual material at a number of sites in the coastal

regions of western Anatolia provides material evidence of this (see Mee 1978, Niemeier 1997). Millawanda came under Minoan influence during the Middle Minoan period and subsequently under Mycenaean influence, most notably in the late fourteenth or early thirteenth century. Via Millawanda in particular, the Luwian-speaking peoples of western Anatolia probably developed close links with both the Minoan and the Mycenaean worlds. This may help to explain the prominence of Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece in the traditions which are concerned with the origins of the first millennium Lycians (see below). Quite possibly they were brought into Lycia and re-established there, perhaps at the very end of the second millennium, by displaced population groups from the Luwian-speaking areas of western Caria.

There were also substantial numbers of Luwians resettled in the Mycenaean world, particularly during the course of the thirteenth century, to judge from Hattusili's complaint in the Tawagalawa Letter that some 7000 Hittite subjects from the Lukka Lands had been transplanted to Ahhiyawa (KUB XIV 3 iii 7-17). Piyamaradu himself had been granted a new home for his family and retinue in Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean territory. We learn too from the Linear B tablets that western Anatolia was one of the regions from which labour was recruited for the Mycenaean palace workforces, for domestic service, textile-making and the like (see Ventris and Chadwick 1959 156; Chadwick 1976 80-81). Indeed recruitment of labour from the Luwian regions of western Anatolia may have been a primary incentive for Mycenaean interest and involvement in these regions. Almost certainly there were other incentives as well—incentives chiefly to do with the acquisition of valuable raw materials, not obtainable or obtainable only in small quantities in the Greek world. Bronze Age Anatolia was rich in raw materials which were undoubtedly in high demand in the Aegean world. Timber, gold, silver, and copper may well have figured prominently amongst these. All were obtainable in western Anatolia,[66] and quite possibly provided one of the chief attractions for the Mycenaeans' political and military involvement in the predominantly Luwian regions of western Anatolia.

[66] For a discussion of the distribution of metal deposits in Anatolia, see P. de Jesus (1978).

Apart from this, a substantial workforce was undoubtedly needed for the massive building projects of the Mycenaean world, notably the construction, maintenance, and extension of the Mycenaean palaces and citadels. We know very little of the demographics of the Mycenaean world, but it is not unlikely that the considerable labour requirements for these projects necessitated supplementation of the local workforces with manpower acquired through raids and other means from across the Aegean. The Greek literary tradition which credits the building of the walls of Tiryns to Cyclopes from Lycia[67] would accord well with this scenario. As we shall see, the Lycians in their Late Bronze Age context were a Lukka people of southwestern Anatolia. Some of their predecessors may well have been included in the groups from the Lukka Lands who were resettled in the Mycenaean world around the middle of the thirteenth century. It is quite possible that the literary tradition, albeit a late-attested one, has some basis in fact.

Homer speaks of the Greek world's receptiveness to foreigners who brought with them a range of skills—as prophets, bards, woodworkers, curers of diseases: 'No man of his own accord goes out to bring in a stranger from elsewhere, unless that stranger be master of some craft, a prophet or one who cures diseases, a worker in wood, or again an inspired bard, delighting men with his song. The wide world over, men such as these are welcome guests' (*Odyssey* 17. 382-5, transl. W. Shewring). This receptiveness may well have been a marked feature of Mycenaean society, resulting in part at least from the Mycenaean world's extensive involvement in the international commercial and trading activities of the Late Bronze Age. The Luwian population groups of western Anatolia were amongst the Mycenaean world's closest neighbours and probably had the most extensive cultural as well as commercial contacts with this world. Too, the thousands of Luwians who resettled in Greece must have taken with them to their new homeland some of the literary and folk traditions of the Near Eastern world whence they had come. In this respect they would have served as important agents of east-west cultural transmission, which amongst other things led to the adoption

[67] The tradition is recorded in Strabo 8.6.11 and also appears in Bacchylides 10. 77-78, Apollodoros 2.2.1, Pausanias 2.25.8.

of Near Eastern folk and literary traditions by the Greeks from at least the thirteenth century onwards.[68]

Luwians figure amongst the groups of so-called 'Sea Peoples' who attacked the Egyptian Delta in the reign of Ramses II's son and successor Merneptah (ca. 1213-1204). The invasion is recorded in a long inscription on the eastern wall of the temple of Karnak. In addition to bands from Libya, the invaders included peoples whose names are commonly vocalized as Sherden (Šrdn), Shekelesh (Škrš), Ekwesh (Ikwš), Lukka (Lk), and Teresh (Trš). However we are to interpret the record of these peoples and the nature of their incursions, their numbers almost certainly included displaced population groups from western Anatolia, amongst whom were Lukka people.[69] The use of the term Lukka in this context may well signify Luwian-speaking peoples in the broadest sense, reflecting the disintegration of the power structures in the west as elsewhere in the Bronze Age world, and in an increasingly insecure environment the displacement of population groups from throughout the entire region who were forced to seek new lands to settle, displaced by marauding groups and in their turn taking on a marauding aspect.

The invasions in Merneptah's reign seem to have been little more than a prelude to mass movements by the Sea Peoples by both land and sea, reflected in the record of the countries destroyed by the Sea Peoples prior to their onslaught on Egypt during the reign of Ramses III (ca. 1185-1154). Arzawa figures amongst these countries, along with Hatti, Qode (= Cilicia?) (see Hawkins 2000 39, with references in n. 18), Carchemish,[70] and Alasiya (Medinet Habu inscription of Ramses III's eighth year; Breasted 1906, vol. iv, sec. 64). Hawkins (1998b 21) raises the question in this context of what the Egyptians knew or meant by Arzawa: a general term for western Anatolia or a major power in the region? There seems little doubt that the purpose of the

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[68] See Bryce (1999) for the suggestion that Luwian-speaking scribes in the Mycenaean courts may have served as important agents of transmission for a number of Near Eastern mythological and literary themes which resurface in the works of Homer and Hesiod.

[69] Other western Anatolian groups may have included the Teresh, who *may* be identifiable with the Tyrsenoi referred to in later Greek sources, and Mycenaean Greeks from western Anatolia (if Ekwesh can be equated with Ahhiyawa).

[70] The reference here is almost certainly to Hittite-controlled territory in Syria rather than to the city of Carchemish which was unaffected by the Sea Peoples' onslaught; cf. Hawkins (2000 73).

list is to emphasize the spread and magnitude of the marauders' activities, extending across almost the entire Near Eastern world, from the Arzawa lands in the west through the Hatti lands and Kizzuwatna in central and eastern Anatolia, offshore to the island of Alasiya (Cyprus), and through Syria to the Land of Carchemish in the Euphrates region. The text provides us with a broad panoramic view. We are to think of the places which it names primarily in terms of the vast regions which they covered *in toto* rather than as individual political entities. In such a context Arzawa is clearly used in its broadest sense. Indeed in these final years of the disintegrating Bronze Age kingdoms, the carefully defined boundaries which once marked off the individual Arzawa lands from each other were by now probably largely if not completely meaningless.

4. *The Luwians of Southeastern Anatolia*

We have noted the progressive spread of Luwian-speaking peoples through the southern and southeastern regions of Anatolia, particularly during the first half of the second millennium. The region which the Hittites called the Lower Land lying south of the Marassantiya river may, we have suggested, have had a predominantly Luwian population, although it had been absorbed into the Land of Hatti already in the reigns of the earliest known Hittite kings. Stretching along and inland from the Mediterranean coast were two other regions with substantial Luwian-speaking populations, Kizzuwatna and Tarhuntassa.

Kizzuwatna lay in the southeast, its territory extending inland from the plain of Adana to the Anti-Taurus range and covering in part the region of Classical Cilicia. Its chief cities were the cult centres Kummanni, probably to be identified with Classical Comana Cappadociae, and Lawazantiya, where the Hittite prince later to become King Hattusili III met and married Puduhepa, daughter of a Hurrian priest. Other cities within Kizzuwatnan territory included Sinuwanda, Zunnahara, Arana, and Sinahu. The region had a small Semitic population, to judge from the personal names attested there at that time. But Luwians and Hurrians constituted the two predominant population groups. Both groups had apparently occupied the region

by the middle of the second millennium.[71] It has been suggested that the Luwians were located in the western part of the region with the Hurrians concentrated in the northeast (see e.g. Lebrun 1980 23; Houwink ten Cate 1995 268). However the mixture of personal names indicates a relatively high degree of intermingling between the two groups. The name Kizzuwatna is not attested before the reign of the Hittite king Telipinu (ca. 1525-1500). But prior to Telipinu at least part of the territory which it incorporated was probably an independent entity called Adaniya (see Beal 1986 424 with n. 2). Perhaps originally incorporated into the Hittite kingdom in Hattusili I's reign if not earlier, Adaniya had become independent by the time of King Ammuna (mid-sixteenth century), since during his reign it was listed as one of the countries hostile to Hatti. Very likely it was in this period that the kingdom of Kizzuwatna was established, perhaps under Hurrian influence.[72] Its name and that of its chief city (at least in cultic terms) Kummanni are both of Hurrian origin, though in fact the earliest known kings Pariyawatri (who may have fought against the Hittites) and Isputahsu his son had Anatolian names. Father and son are also attested on a seal impression, discovered at Tarsus, with the inscription 'Isputahsu, Great King, Son of Pariyawatri' (see Goetze 1940 73).

Telipinu accepted the independent status of Kizzuwatna and formalized relations with it by drawing up a treaty with its king Isputahsu, the first known Hittite treaty (CTH 21). Fragmentary versions in both Hittite and Akkadian survive. Subsequent treaties were drawn up by Telipinu's successors: Tahurwaili with Isputahsu's successor Eheya, Hantili II(?) (the king's name is now lost from the text) with a Kizzuwatnan king called Paddatissu who probably succeeded Eheya, and Zidanta II with Pelliya. Sufficient fragments of the last of these documents have survived to indicate that there had been conflict between Hatti and Kizzuwatna involving the capture or

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[71] On Kizzuwatna's mixed population, see Kümmel (1980 629). Houwink ten Cate (1995 268) notes that a landgrant from the reign of Hattusili I in the late seventeenth century appears to indicate that Hurrians already lived there at that time. Perhaps they were forerunners of later more substantial Hurrian settlement in the region.

[72] See Gurney (1973b 645); Beal (1986 426); Bryce (1986-87 86 n. 8). Wilhelm (1989 23) suggests that it may have first achieved independence during Hantili's reign.

destruction of towns in the border region on each side (see Bryce 1998 121-122).

An effective permanent alliance with Kizzuwatna was of considerable importance to Hatti, particularly in view of Kizzuwatna's strategic location in southeast Anatolia, for it encompassed the main routes of communication between Hatti and Syria. An alliance, or at least a guarantee of benevolent neutrality, became all the more pressing with the rise of the Hurrian kingdom of Mittanni and the threat this posed to Hatti from the southeast. Indeed Zidanta's treaty-partner Pelliya also concluded a treaty with the Mittannian vassal Idrimi who had attacked and conquered seven cities lying within the southeastern periphery of Hittite subject territory. Since a simultaneous alliance with Hatti and Mittanni or a Mittannian vassal would clearly have been out of the question, the Kizzuwatnan king had apparently changed sides, presumably some time after his pact with the Hittite king (see Bryce 1998 126-128).

Kizzuwatna may have switched its alliance several more times until finally, in the reign of Tudhaliya I/II, its king Sunassura concluded a treaty with Tudhaliya which marked the beginning of its permanent attachment to Hatti: 'Now the people of the Land of Kizzuwatna are Hittite cattle and chose their stable. From the Hurrian they separated and shifted allegiance to My Sun. The Hurrian sinned against the Land of Hatti, but against the Land of Kizzuwatna he sinned particularly. The Land of Kizzuwatna rejoices very much indeed over its liberation. Now the Land of Hatti and the Land of Kizzuwatna are free from their obligations. Now I, My Sun, have restored the Land of Kizzuwatna to its independence.' (KBo I 5 i 30-37, after Goetze 1940 39). On the date of the treaty, see Beal (1986). Henceforth, Kizzuwatna maintained its alliance with Hatti. Indeed at some time following the treaty, perhaps while Tudhaliya still occupied the throne, it was annexed to Hittite territory and placed under direct Hittite rule. King Suppiluliuma I appointed one of his sons, Telipinu, as priest in Kizzuwatna,[73] but his role there included important political and military as well as priestly responsibilities. The terms of his appointment were similar in a number of respects to those imposed by treaty on the rulers of Hittite vassal states. Given that the appointment was

[73] KUB XIX 25 + 26 (*CTH* 44), ed. Goetze (1940 12-16). For the period of the annexation, see Beal (1986 439-440).

made only a short time before his father led his forces into Syria against Mittanni, it was almost certainly connected with Suppiluliuma's first major campaign against the Mittannian king Tushratta.

Hatti's political control over Kizzuwatna in no way diminished the strong Hurrian ethnic and cultural presence in the region, which particularly in the last century of the Hittite kingdom was to exercise a profound influence on Hittite civilization, notably in the kingdom's religious activities, as well as in areas like literary and mythological tradition. In view of the strength and explicit nature of the Hurrian presence in Kizzuwatna, one may lose sight of the fact that it was a Luwian as well as a Hurrian cultural zone. Indeed, as we shall see, Luwian elements were to show the greater resilience in the centuries which followed the end of the Bronze Age. In Kizzuwatna as well as in other parts of southern Anatolia these elements came to figure prominently in the civilizations which emerged during the first half of the first millennium.

Adjoining Kizzuwatna on the west lay the country of Tarhuntassa,[74] a region which was almost certainly occupied by a Luwian-speaking population, as its name adopted from the Luwian Storm-god Tarhunt suggests. Yet its existence is not attested before the reign of the Hittite king Muwattalli II (ca. 1295-1272), and in fact it seems to have been a new entity created by Muwattalli and incorporating the country known as the Hulaya River Land as its frontier zone (see Otten 1988 46; Hoffner 1989 47; Hawkins 1995a 50). It was here that Muwattalli transferred the seat of Hittite power from Hattusa prior to his conflict with the pharaoh Ramses II: 'When, however, my brother Muwattalli at the command of his (patron) deity went down to the Lower Land, leaving the city of Hattusa, he took the gods and the spirits of ancestors of Hatti...and he brought them down to the city of Tarhuntassa and made it his place of residence' (Apology of Hattusili (CTH 81), sec. 6 i 75-ii 1-2, sec. 8 ii 52-53). The reasons for this momentous change have been discussed at some length (see Bryce 1998 251-255 with references) and generally associated with Hatti's forthcoming conflict with Egypt. In any case the move was intended to be permanent. In fact it was very short-lived. Probably under pressure from his advisers, including his uncle Hattu-

[74] That Kizzuwatna and Tarhuntassa shared a common frontier is an inference rather than an attested fact, based on the list of countries adjoining Tarhuntassa; see Hawkins (1995a 51-52).

sili, Muwattalli's son and successor Urhi-Teshub transferred the royal seat back to Hattusa: 'He raised up the gods from Tarhuntassa and returned them to Hattusa' (KUB XXI 15 (CTH 85 I.B) i 11-12. On the sources relating to the return of the capital to Hattusa, see Houwink ten Cate 1994 234 n. 5).

Even so Tarhuntassa continued to play an important role in the affairs of Hatti as an appanage kingdom of the Great King, initially under the immediate control of a man called Kurunta, brother, or half-brother, of Urhi-Teshub and a second son of Muwattalli. Kurunta was given the kingdom, with virtually the same powers and privileges as a viceroy, by way of reward for his loyalty to Hattusili when the latter seized the throne from Urhi-Teshub. As we have noted, Kurunta features as the treaty-partner of Hattusili's son and successor Tudhaliya IV in the text of the bronze tablet discovered at Hattusa in 1986. The treaty emphasizes Kurunta's past record of loyalty to Hattusili and his heir, and confers further privileges upon him, no doubt in an attempt to ensure his continuing loyalty. But it is likely that he eventually broke from his allegiance to Hattusili's direct descendants and attempted to seize the throne of the Great King for himself (see Bryce 1998 354-355, with references). Indeed he may have succeeded in doing so, if we can so judge from seal impressions found in Hattusa bearing the inscription 'Kurunta, Great King, Labarna, My Sun' (see Neve 1987 401-408 Abb. 20a.b; 1993b Abb. 40-42), and also from the recently discovered rock relief and inscription at Hatip, southwest of Konya, in which Kurunta is called 'Great King, Hero, son of Muwattalli, Great King, Hero' (see Dinçol 1998b). But if so his coup was short-lived, for Tudhaliya regained his throne. We know nothing of Kurunta's subsequent fate. It seems most unlikely that he was reinstated in Tarhuntassa, and may, like his brother Urhi-Teshub, have spent his final years in exile.[75]

We have no precise information about the subsequent history of Tarhuntassa.[76] But there is little doubt that this region of the Luwian-speaking world played a crucially important role in the final decades of the Hittite kingdom. Its importance lay very much in its strategic

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[75] As discussed below, Singer (1996 64-65) suggests a contrary explanation for Kurunta's assumption of the title 'Great King', arguing for the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of two 'Great Kings', one of Hatti, one of Tarhuntassa, at this time.

[76] For the question of whether Ulmi-Teshub was identical with, or a successor of Kurunta, see the references cited by Bryce (1998 298 nn. 17, 18).

location. The port of Ura was situated in or at least close to the borders of Tarhuntassa, and it was to Ura that grain shipments were brought from Egypt and Canaan via Ugarit for transportation to Hatti. Particularly at times of food shortages in the Hittite kingdom, it was vital that the grain route be kept open. If the port of Ura lay within the control of a regime hostile to Hatti, or lay close enough to enemy territory to be threatened by it, Hittite communications with Syria and Egypt would be seriously imperilled. The hieroglyphic inscription from the so-called Südburg structure recently discovered in Hattusa records Suppiluliuma II's activities against a number of cities and countries of southern Anatolia, as noted above. It then appears to go on to report the conquest and annexation of Tarhuntassa.[77] This seems to indicate that whatever regime was in power there at this time was hostile to Hatti. The operation thus recorded may belong within the same context as the record of sea battles fought off the coast of Alasiya (KBo XII 38 (CTH 121) iii 1'-13'. See Bryce 1988 365-366, with references). Very likely both sets of operations reflect this last known Hittite king's attempts to keep safe the vital supply routes in the eastern Mediterranean at a time when the Hittite world was becoming increasingly dependent on the importation of food from abroad.

C. The Luwians in their Iron Age Context

1. *The Kingdom of Hartapu*

Luwian population groups and elements of Luwian culture persisted through the centuries which followed the fall of the kingdom of Hatti, and were in some cases to have a marked and long-lasting effect on the Iron Age civilizations which emerged in the regions where the Bronze Age kingdom of Hatti had formerly held sway. In this second stage of our history of the Luwian peoples, we shall focus chiefly on the lands of southern Anatolia where Luwian elements appear to have been most prominent during the first millennium BCE.

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[77] As also noted (n. 65), Melchert disputes that the inscription refers to military conquests. He suggests (2002a 140-141) that the action taken against Tarhuntassa, as recorded in the inscription, was to deport its population and forbid any further settlement of it. In this case too military conquest could have been involved. Deportation was one of the regular aftermaths of successful military campaigns conducted by Suppiluliuma's predecessors against rebel or enemy states.

Map 3: Anatolia in the Iron Age (H.C. Melchert)

The region north of and *perhaps* incorporating the former appanage kingdom Tarhuntassa may provide us with one of our earliest and most direct links between the Anatolian Bronze Age lands and their successors. This conclusion has been drawn from a group of hieroglyphic inscriptions discovered on the mountain-top sanctuary Karadağ and in the city of Kızıldağ, located in the area of the Konya Plain.[78] The inscriptions were composed by a 'Great King' Hartapu, whose father Mursili is similarly entitled a Great King. An inscription on a hill called Burunkaya (18 kms. northeast of modern Aksaray) also features the Great King Hartapu, again with his father, the Great King Mursili (Alp 1974 20; Hawkins 2000 437-438, 442). The parental identification quite possibly indicates a family link with the royal house of Hattusa. It has been suggested, for example, that Hartapu and his father were descendants of Kurunta, former ruler of Tarhuntassa and grandson of Mursili II (Hawkins 1992 270; 1995a 64). Hartapu's father would thus have adopted from the former Hittite royal dynasty one of its most illustrious names, a practice followed by several of the neo-Hittite rulers.[79] An alternative suggestion is that the Mursili named in the hieroglyphic inscriptions was in fact the Hittite king Mursili III, more commonly known as Urhi-Teshub, brother of Kurunta; if so, then Hartapu was Urhi-Teshub's son (Mellaart 1974 514-516; Singer 1996a 70. See also Hawkins 1998b 20-21).

In either case, Hartapu's reign has generally been dated to the period immediately after the fall of the kingdom of Hatti, primarily on the grounds that no local Anatolian ruler would have referred to himself as 'Great King' while the throne of Hattusa was still occupied (see Hawkins 1992 270). This assumption has recently been challenged by Dr Singer, who argues that the title might well have been used by a king of Tarhuntassa *prior* to the end of the Bronze Age, and that on chronological and stylistic grounds Hartapu's inscriptions belong more appropriately to the period before rather than after the fall of Hattusa.

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[78] Two from the former, five from the latter, published by Alp (1974). See Hawkins (2000 433-441).

[79] It would not be surprising if, as in the Syro-Hittite kingdoms, some post-Bronze Age Anatolian kings assumed the names of illustrious members of the Hittite royal dynasty, whether or not they were closely related to them, in order to legitimate their position or enhance their status.

Singer's proposal has some interesting historical implications. Almost certainly the adoption of the title 'Great King' by Hartapu and his father would, in a Bronze Age context, have represented a defiant assertion of independence from Hittite authority in what had clearly been Hittite subject territory. Particularly so if the Mursili of the inscriptions was in fact Urhi-Teshub. The deposed king had never abandoned his claim upon the Hittite throne, and had successfully resisted all attempts of the man who had seized it, Hattusili III, to recapture him after he had fled his appointed place of exile. For the son of Mursili III/Urhi-Teshub to claim the title of Great King for his father as well as for himself would have amounted to an open denial of the legitimacy of Hattusili's and his lineal heirs' occupancy of the throne. Could this other branch of the royal family have set up a kingdom in exile, in the Kızıldağ-Karadağ-Burunkaya region, the region where perhaps Urhi-Teshub found final refuge? In protesting to Hattusili that Urhi-Teshub was no longer in Egypt but somewhere in southern Anatolia (or northern Syria) (see Bryce 1998 310), the pharaoh Ramses II may well have been speaking the truth.

Did the Kızıldağ-Karadağ-Burunkaya region become part of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa under the rule of Hartapu or his father?[80] If so, then this kingdom must have covered a substantial area of southern Anatolia, with its boundaries extending well to the north of those described in the bronze tablet (see the comments of Singer 1996a 70). On the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility that the region over which Hartapu held sway was separate from Tarhuntassa, and perhaps called by a name which we have yet to identify. In either case, if it was contemporary with the kingdom of Hatti in the latter's final years, it was almost certainly a breakaway state hostile to Hatti, and was perhaps caught up in the southern campaigns of the last Hittite king Suppiluliuma II.

The arguments put forward by Dr Singer in favour of a Bronze Age date for Hartapu are attractive, and the conclusions he draws may well be right. However the case for a southern Anatolian 'Great King' contemporary with the last king or kings of Hattusa remains conjectural and involves some speculative reconstruction of the meagre evidence available to us for the period. Without more explicit

[80] For the possibility that the royal seat of Hartapu's kingdom is to be identified with Kızıldağ, see Alp (1995); cf. Singer (1996 69).

evidence to the contrary, we should leave open the possibility that Hartapu was the ruler of a southern Anatolian kingdom which survived, or appeared immediately in the wake of, the fall of Hatti. In any case, the population of his kingdom, which must have covered part of the region called the Lower Land in Hittite texts, was almost certainly a predominantly Luwian-speaking one—as it had been (we have suggested in Chapter 1) since the days of the Hittite Old Kingdom.

2. *Tabal*

In the early Iron Age the region extending southwards from the southern curve of the Halys (Hittite Marassantiya) River into the Lower Land was called Tabal in Assyrian texts,[81] Tubal in the Old Testament (e.g. Ezek. 32:26; 38:2–3; 39:1). It consisted originally of a series of small independent kingdoms ruled by men who, like Hartapu and his father, assumed the title 'Great King'. By the ninth century there were no less than twenty-four Tabalic kings, according to an inscription on a stele of Shalmaneser III (ca. 858-823) who claimed the submission of these kings to him in the course of a campaign which he conducted into Tabal in 836 (refs. in Hawkins 2000 426-427 nn. 30-31). By the end of the following century, however, the local principalities had amalgamated into two relatively major kingdoms: in the north the kingdom sometimes now referred to as 'Tabal proper' (Bit-Burutash in the Assyrian texts of Sargon II's reign), of which Kululu and Sultanhan were major centres, in the south the kingdom of Tuwana, which covered the region of the classical Tyanitis.

Prior to Shalmaneser's reign, there is no evidence of Assyrian intervention in Tabal, or anywhere else in Anatolia. And it was to be another century before the Assyrians intervened again, this time in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (ca. 745-727), when a number of rulers of Tabalic cities were listed as tributees of the Assyrian king. One of these was Wasusarma (Assyrian Wassurme), son of Tuwatti, whose royal seat was probably at Kululu in Tabal proper, near Kayseri (for his hieroglyphic inscriptions, see Hawkins 2000 451-475). A tablet from Nimrud indicates that Wasusarma, falling out of

[81] Hawkins includes the Kızıldağ-Karadağ-Burunkaya group in the Tabal category as the western (Hartapu) group.

favour with his overlord Tiglath-Pileser, was deposed and replaced by an apparent nonentity called Hulli, described as a 'son of nobody' (Luckenbill I 1926 288 §802 = Nimrud tablet rev. 14'-15'). But Hulli too seems to have fallen foul of his Assyrian overlord, for he and his son Ambaris were taken off to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser's successor Shalmaneser V (ca. 726-722). They were, however, repatriated by Shalmaneser's successor Sargon II (ca. 721-705), who subsequently restored Ambaris to the throne once occupied by his father, married his daughter to him, and gave him Hilakku as a dowry.[82] It may have been with no little apprehension that Ambaris regarded this last act of his father-in-law's beneficence, given the difficulties which any foreign overlord faced in exercising control over the remote, rugged region of Hilakku and its fiercely independent population. We shall have more to say about this below.

One of the most prominent of the southern Tabalic kings was Warpalawa, ruler of Tuwana and a contemporary of Wasusarma. He figures in several hieroglyphic inscriptions of the region (see Hawkins 2000 514-521), one of which is associated with a monumental relief sculpture where he is depicted paying homage to the Storm-god, another with a stele on which he is again offering up a prayer to his god (Hawkins 2000 Plates 294, 296 respectively). He is also mentioned in Assyrian texts, under the name Urballa, on two occasions in a list of tributees of Tiglath-Pileser, and subsequently in Sargon's letter to the Assyrian governor of Que (see below).

Very likely Assyria's renewed interest in Tabal at this time was prompted by the rise of another power in the region. Towards the end of the eighth century the Phrygians, who had become firmly established in central Anatolia before the end of the second millennium, amalgamated with a people called the Mushki, who had already been in conflict with Sargon's predecessor but one, Tiglath-Pileser.[83] The Mushki king Mita, well known as Midas in Greek tradition, was almost certainly the architect of the amalgamation. From his capital at Gordion, ca. 96 kilometres from modern Ankara, Midas ruled a

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[82] From Sargon's Annals; see Luckenbill (II 1927 11 §25). Hawkins (2000 427) notes that Sargon refers to Ambaris' kingdom as the 'land of Bit-Burutash', a term of uncertain reference used only in Sargon's inscriptions.

[83] Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III, Grayson (1976 6-7 §12). Further references to the Mushki occur in texts from the reigns of the Assyrian kings Tukulti-Ninurta II and Assurnasipal; see Luckenbill (I 1926 132 §413, 144 §442 respectively).

kingdom which extended southwards to the Cilician plain, and westwards as far as the Aegean sea. Inevitably his territorial and military aspirations brought him into conflict with the Assyrians during the period when the Assyrian throne was occupied by Sargon. And inevitably the region of Tabal became contested territory between the two Great Kings.

In seeking to thwart Midas' ambitions Sargon, like a number of the Hittite kings of the Late Bronze Age, sought to encourage by one means or another the loyalty and support of his local rulers in the region. Hence his apparently generous treatment of Ambaris, despite the offences (whatever they may have been) which his father had committed against his Assyrian overlords in the past. Midas for his part set out to win over the local Tabalic rulers from their Assyrian allegiance, and apparently had some success in doing so. These rulers may well have seen themselves as caught in a 'meat-in-the-sandwich' situation. Declaring their allegiance to either king would almost certainly bring down upon them the wrath of the other. It was clearly impossible to remain neutral. In the event, several of the Tabalic kings apparently switched allegiance to Midas, perhaps partly on the grounds of the relative proximity of his kingdom, and thus his striking capacity against them.

Responding promptly to the crisis, Sargon succeeded in reasserting his authority in the Tabalic region, and transported the rebel leaders to Assyria, handing over their cities to other local leaders who had remained loyal to him. Ambaris was one such rebel to be carried off, along with his family and chariotry (from the Annals of Sargon = Luckenbill II 1927 11 §25)—the third occasion, in fact, on which this particular royal family was shuttled between Tabal and Assyria. It may be that his wife, Sargon's daughter, remained in Tabal and retained her authority in her husband's kingdom following his disgrace (see Hawkins 2000 428 with n. 46), an indication perhaps of her refusal to support her husband in his intrigues against her father. Sargon further consolidated his authority in the Tabalic and adjacent regions by settling Assyrians and other foreigners in Tabal, and establishing Assyrian governors in the neighbouring countries of Hilakku and Que (see below). But the most significant step he took to bolster his power in these regions was a settlement he reached with Midas. The latter, faced with the threat of a powerful group who had recently invaded Anatolia from the north ca. 714, the Cimmerians,

probably conceded Assyrian territorial claims in southeastern Anatolia in return for Sargon's support against this dangerous new enemy.

In the seventeenth and last year of his reign (ca. 705 B.C), Sargon undertook an expedition into Tabal (Grayson 1975 76, Chron. 1 ii 6') and was probably killed in the course of this campaign, perhaps while fighting the Cimmerians (see Hawkins 2000 428), who subsequently destroyed Midas' kingdom. This almost certainly marked the end of direct Assyrian authority in the region. For a time, however, Tabal continued to figure in Assyrian activities in southeastern Anatolia. The Assyrian king Esarhaddon (ca. 680-669) engaged in military operations there, against the Cimmerians, from his base in Que (see below). And a Tabalic king called Mugallu, after having successfully resisted Esarhaddon, apparently offered his submission to Esarhaddon's successor Assurbanipal (ca. 668-631) and paid him a yearly tribute.[84] Fear of the Cimmerians, Hawkins suggests, was the likely cause of Mugallu's about-face, though his son subsequently broke with Assyria and joined forces with the intruders. This act of treachery, from the Assyrian point of view, brought the wrath of the gods upon its perpetrator (references in Hawkins 2000 428 n. 59)—and an end to references to Tabal in Assyrian sources.

The inscriptions also indicate the prominence of the cult of the goddess Kubaba in the region. From at least the Old Babylonian period Kubaba had been the city goddess of Carchemish. She had been adopted into the Hittite pantheon when King Suppiluliuma I conquered Carchemish and made it a vice-regal kingdom. In the neo-Hittite period, she achieved high prominence in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia, reflecting the persistence of Hurrian elements in these regions. We may thus conclude from the monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions and the cult of Kubaba the continuance of an admixture of Luwian and Hurrian elements in the Tabalic-Lower Land region through the Dark Age and down into the first millennium.

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[84] On the identity of this king with Mugallu, king of Melid, see Hawkins (1995b, 2000 428), who suggests that his reappearance as king of Tabal may indicate a unification of Tabal with Melid.

3. *Luwian Elements in Lycia and Cilicia*

The continuing attestation of Luwian names across southern Anatolia through the first millennium BCE indicates the survival of Luwian elements and, in some areas at least, the probable continuation of Luwian population groups down to the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. Luwian onomastic elements are found in the inscriptions of Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycaonia, and Cilicia, the Classical names for the regions covered by the Bronze Age Lukka Lands (in the narrower sense), the Hittite Lower Land, Tarhuntassa and Kizzuwatna.

While Luwian names are widely distributed through these countries, there is a particular concentration of them in two regions, Cilicia Aspera (Tracheia) in the east, and Lycia in the west. On the basis of the concentration of Luwian names in and around them, we can reasonably conclude that these were the main centres of Luwian occupation in Anatolia during the first millennium (see Houwink ten Cate 1961 1-2, 43, 190-191), particularly after the demise of the neo-Hittite kingdoms. It is hardly coincidence that both regions were located in rugged mountainous terrain less easily accessible by either land or by sea than their neighbours. Their relative isolation may well have given some security to their inhabitants against foreign intrusions during the upheavals which accompanied and followed the end of the Bronze Age, or served to provide refuge to various kindred groups from neighbouring areas more vulnerable to such intrusions. In any case, the populations of these regions were able to maintain a higher degree of independence for a longer period than their neighbours, and for this reason probably a greater retention of their traditional features, at least during the first half of the first millennium. Hence the likelihood of greater continuity in these regions between their Bronze Age inhabitants and their Iron Age successors. From a historian's viewpoint, this has obvious drawbacks, since the more isolated a group the less likely it is to figure in the written records of the period. We know significantly more about other Anatolian regions, from both Near Eastern and Greek sources, which were more exposed to foreign access and conquest.

The question must of course arise as to what precisely we can deduce from the persistence of Luwian names in a particular region. To what extent do the names really indicate a significant continuing population of Luwian or at least partly Luwian origin? And do the

names indicate that those who bore them still continued to speak the Luwian language or a derivative of it? Moreover, in addressing this final stage of the history of the Luwian people, we are in effect writing a history of the regions in which a greater or lesser number of people of Luwian origin lived rather than a history of the Luwian people *per se*. (This of course is a similar *caveat* to that which prefaced our treatment of the Bronze Age Luwian peoples.)

As we have commented, the concentration of Luwian names in Lycia and Cilicia Aspera give good reason to suppose that these were the most important areas of Luwian settlement in the first millennium BCE, and it is on these that we shall focus our attention. We know that Lycia at least was a Luwian-speaking region for the best part of the first six centuries of the millennium—on the basis of the surviving epichoric inscriptions which clearly demonstrate that the language of the region was a descendant of Bronze Age Luwian. Unfortunately Cilicia Aspera provides us with no epichoric inscriptions. But Professor Houwink ten Cate has argued that what can be inferred in this way for Lycia probably holds good for Cilicia Aspera too, noting the high degree of similarity between the onomastics of Cilicia Aspera and Lycia.

4. *Cilicia in non-Classical Sources*

The name Cilicia appears to have been derived from Hilakku, the Assyrian designation for part of the region in southeastern Anatolia covered by Cilicia in the Greco-Roman period. In Classical tradition the name's origin was attributed to a legendary Greek people called the Cilices, who according to Homer (*Iliad* 6.397) were originally one of the peoples of the Troad; they were presumably displaced during the upheavals which followed the collapse of the Bronze Age civilizations and retained the name of their original homeland in their new place of settlement. Cilicia consisted primarily of two distinct parts, known by the terms Cilicia Aspera, 'Rough Cilicia', and Cilicia Campestris, 'Cilicia of the Plain'. Cilicia Aspera (Greek Tracheia) was the rugged mountainous western part of the region, Cilicia Campestris (Greek Pedias) the 'smoother', fertile eastern part. Jones (1937 192) noted that the contrast in physical conditions corresponded to a contrast in civilization: 'In Cilicia Pedias trade and industry fostered the growth of towns. In Cilicia Tracheia a primitive tribal life prevailed; only along the coast did a few small towns manage to

subsist, as port of call for the coastal trade and export depots for the timber from the mountains inland.' Our sources on Cilicia have little to say about Cilicia Aspera. From this, Houwink ten Cate (1961 17) comments, we may conclude that Cilicia Aspera continued to exist practically undisturbed in almost complete isolation from the outside world, and that until well into the Roman period only a small strip of coast in Cilicia Aspera was effectively controlled.

We have noted the persistence of Bronze Age elements in southern Anatolia after the collapse of the Hattusa-based kingdom of Hatti. But new names began to appear. Cilicia Campestris was called Qaue, later Que, by the Assyrians, and was subsequently referred to as Hume in neo-Babylonian texts. At the time of Shalmaneser III, the Assyrian king under whom Assyrian power was first extended into Anatolia, Que may have covered much of Bronze Age Kizzuwatna, which incorporated neighbouring parts of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains, but by the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, a century later, was probably limited to the Cilician plain (see Houwink ten Cate 1961 21; Macqueen 1995 1103, map). Its seat of power very likely lay in the city of Adana.[85]

The continuing presence of Luwian elements in the region during at least the early centuries of the first millennium is indicated by the Phoenician-hieroglyphic bilingual inscription appearing on the North and South Gates of the fortifications at Karatepe-Aslantaş (Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000 45-70). The inscription was authored or commissioned by a local ruler called Azatiwada who owed his elevation to Awariku, king of Adana. Azatiwada claims to have fortified and extended the land of Adana, to have brought peace and prosperity to it, and to have established his overlord's family on its throne. He also links his name with the house of Muksa, MPŠ in the Phoenician version. These names equate precisely with Μόξος and Μόψος of Greek legendary tradition, and through them relate to the cities Mopsoukrene and Mopsuestia which were located in the same general area as Adana and Karatepe (see also Hawkins 1995c 413). The name-equation has led a number of scholars to link the remote ancestral figure of the Karatepe inscription with the seer Mopsos, frequently attested in Greek sources, who emigrated from western

[85] Hawkins (2000 41) notes that the title 'king of Danuna' is shown by the Karatepe inscription to refer to the king of Que, ruling in Adana.

Anatolia to Cilicia and whose name is associated with the foundation of a number of cities in southern Asia Minor (see Houwink ten Cate 1961 46-47). The Mopsos tradition may have originated within the context of the movements of displaced western Anatolian peoples at the end of the Bronze Age. Quite conceivably the founder of a ruling house in Que/Cilicia Campestris—Luwian Muksa, Phoenician MPŠ, Greek Mopsos—was in fact the leader of a western Anatolian Luwian population group who eventually resettled in the southeast some time after the fall of the Hittite empire.

In discussing the question of the date of the Karatepe inscription, Hawkins (2000 41-42, 44) notes that the name of Azatiwada's patron Awariku can be identified with Urikki, the name of a king of Que appearing in Assyrian lists of tributary kings during Tiglath-Pileser's reign,[86] and still alive in 709. Palaeographic considerations seem to support the identification, although stylistic features of the monument's sculptures continue to raise doubts about the date of the monument and its inscriptions (see Hawkins 2000 44). This last aside, the reign of Sargon's successor Sennacherib (ca. 704-681) would provide a plausible scenario for Azatiwada's exploits—which show a good deal more initiative on the part of a local ruler than might be expected while Que was under the direct control of an Assyrian governor. At least initially under Sennacherib Que appears to have enjoyed a higher degree of autonomy than it had under his predecessor, and it is possible that Sennacherib had the willing support of men like Azatiwata in his expedition against Cilician rebels further to the west.[87]

Bordering Que on the west lay the country called Hilakku in Assyrian texts. Hilakku was adjacent to Tabal, which lay to its north, and in broad terms probably extended over much of the same territory as the later Cilicia Aspera. Under their respective kings Kate and Pihirim, Que and Hilakku joined an alliance of northern Syrian states which was formed against Shalmaneser III in 858.[88] The alliance was crushed, but twenty years were to pass before Shalma-

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[86] Tiglath-Pileser's Annals 1.87 and 1.151; see Luckenbill (I 1926 273 §769, 276 §772 respectively).

[87] Hawkins (2000 44) suggests this possibility on the basis of Azatiwada's reference to the 'bad men in the west' in secs. XX-XXXI of the Karatepe inscription.

[88] See references in Hawkins (2000 41 n. 38). Hawkins concludes from a reference to the king of Danuna on the stele of Kulamuwa of Sam'al that Kate's power extended east of the Amanus into northern Syria.

neser could turn from his military enterprises in Syria, especially against the southern Syrian states who fiercely resisted him, to launch a campaign into southeastern Anatolia. In 839 he conducted an expedition across the Amanus mountain range into Tabal and Que, capturing a number of cities in these regions, including Lusanda (Lawazantiya), Abarnani, and Kisuatni (Kizzuwatna-Kummanni). He led three further expeditions into Que, in the years 833, 832, and 831, the last of which was followed by a temporary cessation of Assyrian military enterprises in Anatolia. Hilakku, a more remote and less easily accessed region, apparently remained free of the threat of Assyrian intervention throughout this period.

In the reign of the later king Shalmaneser V (ca. 726-722), or his successor Sargon, both Hilakku and Que became Assyrian provinces. As we have noted, Hilakku was assigned by Sargon to the Tabalic king Ambaris after he had restored him to his father's throne and made him his son-in-law. During Sargon's reign, Que was under the direct authority of an Assyrian governor called Assur-sharru-usur who undertook expeditions against the Phrygian king Midas on behalf of his Assyrian overlord.[89] Already in the reign of Shalmaneser's predecessor Tiglath-Pileser III the Assyrians had exercised some measure of control over at least part of the Cilician region as well as over the Tabalic region beyond. But rebellions against Assyrian rule under Sargon's successors, beginning with Sennacherib, ensured that the Anatolian states' links with Assyria remained tenuous. Sennacherib probably succeeded in reestablishing Assyrian control over Que (perhaps with the collaboration of men like Azatiwada), but Hilakku repeatedly resisted attempts to bring it to heel, in spite of the claim made by Sennacherib's successor Esarhaddon that he had subdued its rebellious population (see Luckenbill II 1927 206 §516; Borger 1956 51 iii 47-55).

Certainly by the reign of Assurbanipal Hilakku had regained its independence from any form of Assyrian control, though Que seems to have remained under Assyrian sovereignty for at least the duration of Assurbanipal's reign. In the early decades of the sixth century, Babylonian kings undertook several expeditions into Que (which they called Hume) and possibly also into Hilakku. There is no firm

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[89] As recorded in correspondence between Sargon and his governor; see Hawkins (2000 42 with n. 58).

evidence that Babylon ever succeeded in establishing control over these regions, though Nebuchadrezzar (ca. 605-562) claimed Hume amongst his conquests in Anatolia,[90] and another text from his reign makes reference to prisoners from Pirindu (Weidner 1939 pl. II, A rev. 7; p. 935), which must have been largely co-extensive with Hilakku, or Cilicia Aspera (see Houwink ten Cate 1961 28, 43). Hawkins (2000 44) suggests that hostilities between this kingdom and Babylon may have arisen over control of Hume. Several years after the death of Nebuchadrezzar in 562, his successor but one, Neriglissar, conducted a campaign against Appuashu of Pirindu (557/556) (Grayson 1975 103, Chron. 6 1-13) and two years later we hear of an expedition into Hume undertaken by his successor Nabonidus (Grayson 1975 105, Chron. 7 i 7-8).

5. *Cilicia in Classical Sources*

The earliest historical reference we have to Cilicia in Classical sources is Herodotos' statement (1.28) that the Cilicians and the Lycians were the only peoples whom the Lydian king Kroisos (ca. 560-546) failed to subdue during his campaigns west of the Halys river. We cannot be sure whether this means that they successfully resisted any attempts he made to conquer them, or whether he simply decided that the rewards to be won did not warrant the risks entailed in campaigning against them. Subsequently, from the last decades of the sixth century onwards, both peoples were subject, at least nominally, to Persian rule. During the first period of Persian sovereignty, from ca. 542 to 401 BCE, the Cilicians appear to have enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy under a line of local kings called by the title Syennesis.[91] The title was probably adopted from the name of the founder of the dynasty, who was, according to Herodotos (1.74), one of the mediators in the conflict between the Medes and the Lydians in 585 BCE. The dynasty's seat of power may have been located at Tarsus. Throughout the period of Persian domination as in other periods, it is likely that Cilicia Aspera remained effectively independent, except perhaps for a narrow strip along the coast (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961 31).

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[90] CT 46, no. 45, cited also by Hawkins (2000 43 n. 76), who notes that the attribution to Nebuchradezzar is not absolutely certain.

[91] In the following period, from 401 to the conquests of Alexander the Great in 333, Cilicia was directly governed by a Persian satrap.

During the Hellenistic period the Seleucids and the Ptolemies contested control over the Cilician region. But Cilicia Aspera was probably little affected, and again with the possible exception of a narrow coastal strip maintained its independence from both powers. In the second century BCE its coast area served as a base for the notorious Cilician pirates who infested the eastern Mediterranean until crushed by Pompey the Great in 67 BCE. During Pompey's campaign against the pirates, Cilicia Aspera succumbed, finally, to foreign rule. It became part of the new Roman province Cilicia, which extended through southern Anatolia between the provinces of Asia in the west and Syria in the east. Even then, notes Houwink ten Cate (1961 34), Cilicia was to a large extent governed by indigenous monarchs, including the Teucrid dynasty in Olba, a site whose inscriptions have provided a particularly large number of names that are characteristically Luwian. Subsequently, in the late Roman Republic, the province was divided up in a series of new administrative arrangements between local client kings, Syria, and the newly formed province of Galatia. Further changes were made in the first century CE by the emperor Vespasian. In the second century Cilicia became one of the components of the Triple Province, along with Lycaonia and Isauria.

6. *Lycia*

The country in southwestern Anatolia called Lycia by the Greeks and Romans provides the best attested and most striking example of continuity of Luwian population groups and culture in the first millennium BCE. Bordered by Caria to the northwest and Pamphylia to the northeast, and largely cut off from the inland by the Taurus mountain range, Lycia was part of the region referred to in Hittite texts as Lukka or the Lukka Lands. We have noted the inclusion of Lukka people in the first major Sea Peoples' incursions in the late thirteenth century as recorded by the pharaoh Merneptah. The fact that they are not mentioned in the record of the full-scale Sea Peoples' movements by both land and sea as recorded a few years later by Ramses III may or may not be an error of omission. But it seems that Lukka, or at least that part of it which later became known as Lycia, was one of the few regions of Anatolia to remain relatively unaffected by the upheavals at the end of the Bronze Age. It may also have provided a new homeland for a number of Luwian-speaking groups

displaced from their original homelands in the Arzawa region and other Luwian-speaking regions of western Anatolia. Lycia's rugged terrain and relative isolation from the interior of Anatolia may help account for the persistence of Luwian ethnic and cultural elements in this region.

The first millennium names 'Lycia' (Λυκία) for the region and 'Lycians' (Λύκιοι) for its inhabitants are Greek names, first attested in Homer's *Iliad*. The actual occupants of the region called their country *Trm̃misa* and themselves *Trm̃mili*, for reasons we shall discuss below. The Greek names are almost certainly an unwittingly preserved relic of the Bronze Age name Lukka (cf. Laroche 1987-90 183-184). Presumably the name had found its way into early Greek tradition where it was retained on the mistaken assumption that it was Greek in origin. Hence the various attempts to explain it in Hellenocentric terms. According to Herodotos (1.173, 7.92), it was due to the Athenian refugee Lykos, son of the Athenian king Pandion, who had been banished from Athens by his brother Aegeus and found refuge in the country of the Termilae which was subsequently named after him. An alternative and rather more attractive tradition is that recorded by Antoninus Liberalis: the country's name was changed to Lycia by Leto, in honour of the wolves (λύκοι) who had guided her to the river Xanthos in her flight with her baby children Apollo and Artemis from the wrath of the goddess Hera (Antoninus Liberalis, *met.* 35.3, citing Menekrates of Xanthos and Nikander of Kolophon as his sources). In another version appearing in Alexander Polyhistor (ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρεμίλη), it was the Greek Bellerophon who changed the name of the people—from Tremili to Lykioi. In each case the explanation is based on the assumption of a Greek origin for the name. Coupled with this is the more general assumption that the name-change reflects the presence or the arrival of Greek elements in Lycia in the early stages of its development. We shall discuss below the period and extent of Greek influence in the country.

Although Lycia's first millennium inhabitants no longer used the name Lukka, they nonetheless retained a significant number of other Bronze Age place-names. Thus *Arñna* (the Lycian name for Xanthos)

is the Lycian derivative of Late Bronze Age Awarna,[92] Pinara of Pina[. Awarna and Pina[ ] are associated on two occasions in the Bronze Age texts. In the Milawata letter they appear in the context of an agreement between the Hittite king and the letter's recipient to exchange hostages; the former had agreed to hand over hostages from Awarna and Pina[ ] in exchange for hostages held by the latter from Utima and Atriya. Awarna and the forerunner of Pinara also appear together in the so-called YALBURT inscription, which records the conquests of Tudhaliya IV in the Lukka Lands.[93] Tlawa (the Lycian name for Tlos) is the Lycian derivative of T/Dalawa, Pttara (Greek Patara) of Patara,[94] Oenoanda of Wiyanawanda. With the exception of the last of these, all are names of settlements in the Xanthos valley, the homeland in Homeric tradition of the Lycian participants in the Trojan War (see Bryce 1986 13).

The survival of such a cluster of names of Bronze Age origin denoting towns or communities in close proximity to each other seems to point to stable, continuing settlement in the region, which remained relatively unaffected by the upheavals associated with the demise of the major Bronze Age kingdoms. Of course we cannot be altogether sure that the places so called in the first millennium were in fact Bronze Age foundations of the same name, or indeed that they were built on sites with an earlier occupation level. To date, Bronze Age finds in Lycia have been meagre in the extreme.[95] In fact it is only by cross-referencing information contained in the second millennium texts that we can claim Lycia to have been part of the Lukka Lands and thus inhabited by a Luwian-speaking population. Absolute proof of this still requires confirmation from archaeological evidence.

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[92] For the former equation of *Arñna* with the Bronze Age place-name Arinna and the possibility that Awarna and Arinna are different names for the same place, see Keen (1998 57).

[93] The full form of the name for Pinara is not preserved in the Milawata letter. For very different interpretations of the spelling in YALBURT see Poetto (1993 29 n. 43) and Hawkins (1995 81).

[94] A Mt. Patara is referred to in Block 4 of the Yalburt inscription. The identification with Lycian Patara is discussed by Poetto (1993 33, 80); Mellink (1995 190); Carruba (1996 32).

[95] Except in parts of the interior, particularly in the region of the Elmalı plain where there are a number of Bronze Age mounds, including the excavated Early Bronze Age site of Karataş Semayük.

At present, the earliest known site in Lycia is Xanthos whose discovered remains date back to no earlier than the eighth century. A number of buildings of this period have been excavated on the city's acropolis. But we may reasonably assume settlement on or near the site prior to this, given its prime location on the river also called Xanthos by the Greeks,[96] and assuming that Lycia was part of Bronze Age Lukka territory. More generally, there is no reason why the Xanthos valley should not have been as favoured an area for settlement in the second millennium as it was in the first, with continuity between the two periods. That may well explain the location of a number of first millennium settlements in the valley with Bronze Age names. One can but hope that clear evidence for Bronze Age settlement at Xanthos and other Xanthos valley sites will one day emerge.

6.1 *Legendary Traditions*

Several Greek legendary traditions are suggestive of links between the first millennium inhabitants of Lycia and their Bronze Age ancestors. Most notable is the Homeric tradition which makes the Lycians under their leaders Sarpedon and his cousin Glaukos Troy's chief and most aggressive allies in the Trojan War. The Lycians' prominence in the conflict is particularly noteworthy given that they were the most remote of Troy's allies. Homer himself emphasizes this in expressions like τηλόθεν ἐκ Λυκίης ('from far-off Lycia') (*Iliad* 2.877). Does the Homeric tradition have some basis in fact? We have drawn attention to the name *L]uqqa* which appears first in the list of twenty-two countries terminating with *Wilusiya* and *Taruisa* in the so-called Assuwan confederacy. However, we have noted that the confederacy cannot be regarded as the prototype for Homer's Trojan Catalogue, as once suggested, and in any case dates to a period some two centuries before any feasible date for a Trojan War. On the other hand, alliances of the kind described in the *Iliad* did occur in Late Bronze Age western Anatolia, and undoubtedly Luwian-speaking peoples were directly involved in such alliances. It is not inconceivable that the tradition of Lycian participation in the Trojan War reflects one or more western Anatolian military alliances in which

[96] It apparently had an alternative name Sibros or Sirbis; Panyasis ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρεμίλη, Strabo 14.3.6.

the Lycians' Bronze Age ancestors played some part. This is more likely, I believe, than the suggestion that Lycia's involvement in the war is a purely Homeric invention, with Sarpedon introduced into the conflict to provide a worthy opponent for Patroklos, or that Homer's knowledge of the Lycians was based on a Lycian epic composed by a Greek poet for a Lycian prince some time before the end of the eighth century (thus Frei 1978).

In Book VI of the *Iliad*, Glaukos claims to be the grandson of the Greek hero Bellerophon. By implication, his cousin Sarpedon was also Bellerophon's grandson. This provides one of several links in legend between Lycia and the Greek world. Bellerophon, from Argos in the Peloponnese, had been sent to Lycia by the Argive king Proitos with a letter (in the form of folded tablets) for Proitos' father-in-law Iobates, the king of Lycia. Proitos wrongly believed that Bellerophon had attempted to seduce his wife Anteia, and called on Iobates to put him to death. Unwilling to carry out the death penalty himself, for the letter-bearer was his guest and deserved his protection, Iobates called upon Bellerophon to engage in combat with three formidable enemies of the kingdom—the fire-breathing monster Chimaera, the Solymians (an aggressive native tribe of the region), and the tribe of female warriors called the Amazons. He assumed that his guest would be killed in one or other of these conflicts. But Bellerophon survived them all, defeating each of his adversaries in turn. As a reward Iobates married him to his daughter and presented him with half his kingdom.[97]

The several narrative themes in Homer's Bellerophon episode reflect common literary *topoi* which obviously have little value for any historical purposes.[98] Even so, the fact that our earliest Greek literary source claims family links between Lycia and a mainland Greek kingdom may not be altogether without significance. Of particular interest is the letter which Bellerophon delivered to the Lycian king: 'So into Lycia he (Proitos) sent him, charged to bear a deadly cipher, magical marks Proitos engraved and hid in folded tablets' (*Iliad* 6.168-169, transl. R. Fitzgerald). This is the only occasion on which Homer makes reference to writing in either the

[97] The *locus classicus* for this story is Homer, *Iliad* 6.155-197.

[98] There are, for example, a number of well known parallels to the story of Anteia's false claim against Bellerophon, including the biblical account of Joseph and Potiphor's wife (*Genesis* 39).

Iliad or the *Odyssey*. It shows at least a knowledge of writing in Homer's time, and an assumption that literacy was a feature of the age in which the *Iliad* is set, the last century of the Bronze Age by our reckoning. In fact Homer's words reflect a common scenario in Bronze Age international communications: two kingdoms are linked by a marriage alliance; the ruler of one, who is the husband of the other's daughter, makes a request of his father-in-law; he does so in a letter written in a language accessible to both parties, though quite possibly the native language of only one of them, or neither of them. Indeed it has been suggested that the 'magical marks' and 'deadly cipher' of the letter might indicate that the letter was written in Luwian cuneiform, perhaps by a Luwian scribe living in the court of the Greek king (first suggested by Tritsch (1967); cf. Bellamy (1989)).

We have referred above to the tradition which credits the building of the walls of Tiryns in Mycenaean Greece to giants from Lycia. This provides us with a rather more tangible link between the Lycians in Greek sources and the Bronze Age Luwians. As we have noted, the tradition is entirely consistent with Hittite references to the importation of large numbers of western Anatolians, specifically Lukka people, into the Mycenaean Greek world, and at least compatible with Linear B references to the recruitment of labour from western Anatolia for the Mycenaean palace workforces.

In addition to the part he plays in the *Iliad* as leader of the Lycian forces at Troy, Sarpedon appears elsewhere in Greek literary tradition as leader of a group of migrants from Crete to Anatolia called the Termilae. According to Herodotos, the Termilae resettled in Lycia under Sarpedon, who was a Cretan prince forced to flee his homeland after quarrelling with his brother Minos (Herodotos 1.173; cf. Strabo 12.8.5, 14.3.10). In a slightly different tradition, Sarpedon founded Miletos, Bronze Age Millawanda, naming it after the Cretan city of his origin (Strabo 12.8.5, 14.1.6, citing Ephoros). Several ancient commentators have attempted to reconcile the Homeric and 'Cretan' traditions, for example by making the Lycian leader at Troy the grandson of the migrant from Crete (e.g. Diodoros 5.79.3). But the apparent discrepancy can most readily be explained as an instance of the quite common practice of associating many events in a country's

legendary or historical past with the name of a single local hero, irrespective of whether these events were spread over many centuries.[99]

In any case the claim that Lycia was settled by immigrants from Crete called the Termilae may have some validity, particularly since in their own language the Lycians invariably called themselves *Trm̃mili* and their country *Trm̃misa*.[100] Termilae is simply a Hellenized form of *Trm̃mili*, a name which also occurs in a neo-Babylonian cuneiform inscription from Nippur (dating to ca. 420 BCE) in the form ^{lú}*ta-ar-mi-la-a-a* (see Eilers 1940 208-10; Houwink ten Cate 1961 4). We might further note that the workmen referred to in the Persepolis fortification tablets as *Turmir/la, Turmir/liya* are probably also to be identified as Lycians (see Hallock 1969 29). Does the name then indicate a Cretan element in the Lycian population? Although several scholars have attempted to explain it linguistically within a Luwian context (e.g. Laroche 1976 19; Watkins 1986 47), none have done so conclusively. We cannot rule out the possibility that there was a population component in first millennium Lycia whose ancestors were of Cretan origin (perhaps originally settlers in western Caria) as consistently represented in Greek tradition (see also Bryce 1986 31). That would of course still leave open the question of when and how the name *Trm̃mili* came to be applied to the inhabitants of the entire region. We can simply note that if the name did represent one of the early population groups which occupied Lycia, this group must have exercised a strong political and cultural influence in the country, which led to the eventual adoption of its name as a general designation for the country's inhabitants as a whole.

There may well have been a number of foreign, non-Luwian elements in the early first millennium population of Lycia, including peoples from the Aegean world, who may have come to this region during the unsettled conditions of the twelfth century and later, including some of the so-called Sea Peoples whom Ramses III claims to have defeated and driven from the shores of Egypt. The inhospitable Lycian coastline is punctuated with several good harbours where landfalls by potential new settlers could have been made.

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[99] Cf. the exploits of Theseus who in Greek legendary tradition is a contemporary of the Greek warriors who fought at Troy, but also appears in Thucydides 2.15 as the author of *synoikismos* in Attica.

[100] For further detail on the sources relating to the Termilai/*Trm̃mili*, see Keen (1998 30).

Population movements associated with the arrival of new groups of Greek settlers along the Aegean coast of Anatolia ca. 1000 BCE could have extended to the southern coast as well. But during at least the first half of the first millennium, the Lycian population was almost certainly dominated by Luwian elements, as attested by their inscriptions and the names of their most significant deities. Some were no doubt the descendants of those who had long inhabited the region, others of those who had sought a new home there after their displacement from the more turbulent Luwian regions in the final years of the Late Bronze Age.

6.2 *Sources for the History of Lycia*

Our knowledge of Lycian history, like our knowledge of Bronze Age Luwian history, is very largely dependent on information provided by foreign sources. Again we must sound a warning about the limitations of such sources and the biasses and distortions which they often entail. Further, the first genuine historical references to Lycia date to no earlier than the sixth century BCE, and even then the information we can extract from such sources is scattered and largely incidental. We do have the name of a fourth century Lycian writer Menekrates of Xanthos, who composed a work called the *Lykiaka*.[101] But even if his composition had survived (it was in two volumes, of which only five fragments remain), it would probably have been of very limited value as far as the indigenous history of the region was concerned. At the time he wrote Lycia was already becoming strongly Hellenized, and Menekrates himself may have been a Greek immigrant to Lycia, or a first generation Lycian of Greek origin. (For other known writers of likely Lycian origin, see Keen 1998 4-5).

The first traces of epichoric inscriptions also date to the sixth century, though they do not begin to appear, or have not survived, in significant numbers until the latter part of the fifth century, and cease to be attested by the last quarter of the fourth century. What information of a historical nature they do supply is again very limited, even apart from the fact that the Lycian language is still, with the exception of a number of formulaic expressions, largely unintelligible. Most of the inscriptions simply provide burial instructions, and once

[101] Referred to by Antoninus Liberalis *met.* 35 and Steph. Byz. s.v. Αρτύμνησος; see Asheri (1983 125-166).

we move beyond the simple stereotypical statements and instructions which they contain, the rest of the epigraphic material largely defies translation. Even so, the inscriptions do provide a few scraps of historical information which complement and occasionally supplement what we know of Lycian history from non-Lycian sources. Coin-legends also make a valuable contribution, particularly in view of the paucity of other material, to our knowledge Lycian history, or rather to our knowledge of a number of persons who figured prominently in the history.

6.3 *Patterns of Settlement*

If we think of Lycia as part of a region inhabited by a number of communities or tribal groups of (primarily) Luwian-speakers, many of which were nomadic or semi-nomadic in character, pasturing herds and flocks in the mountains through the hot summer months, and all largely independent of each other, that is probably the pattern that is in place in Lycia at the end of the Bronze Age and continuing until the early first millennium BCE. At the same time there were probably several settlements which achieved some prominence already in the Bronze Age, occupying a region which was conducive to a more stable, settled existence.

Almost certainly the Xanthos valley was the main area of settlement in Lycia in the early first millennium BCE. Indeed in Homeric tradition Lycia and the Xanthos valley appear to be virtually synonymous. Here along the banks of the tawny Xanthos river lay the deep-soiled kingdom of Sarpedon and Glaukos, rich in crops and orchards. The city of Xanthos, to use its Greek name, was probably the origin of a number of settlements in or near the Xanthos valley. According to Menekrates, Pinara and Artymnesos (the latter's precise location is still unknown), were founded by colonists from Xanthos (Menekrates ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Αρτύμνησος). And a tradition recorded by the fifth century BCE writer Panyasis (ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρεμίλη; see Bryce 1986 22) suggests that Xanthos, Tlos, and Pinara were regarded as forming an interrelated group of Lycian settlements, perhaps with close ethnic and kinship ties. These settlements may well have been early centres of the Lycian population, with the territory which they incorporated, or which lay between them, constituting the region politically identifiable as Lycia at least up to the time of the Persian conquest ca. 540 BCE. This does not mean that other areas which

later became part of the political organization of Lycian were uninhabited at this time. But for the most part their population was probably sparse, living in small communities, and perhaps largely semi-nomadic in character. They may have had a number of cultural and ethnic affinities with the Xanthos valley population, without being politically integrated with it.

We should probably then think of a politically identifiable unit called Lycia as originally just one part of a broader region which we might think of as Lycia in an ethno-cultural sense—a region whose population had a common basic culture but no overall political coherence. Perhaps the terms *Trm̃mili* and *Trm̃misa*, whatever their origin, were used initially of Lycia in a narrow sense but came to have increasingly wider application as the whole of 'cultural' Lycia became absorbed within a single political framework. This had occurred by the late sixth or early fifth century. We shall consider below how this process may have occurred.

6.4 *Some Historical Information*[102]

The first foreign state to have any significant contact with Lycia in the first millennium was almost certainly Rhodes. Throughout its history Lycia's relationship with Rhodes seems to have been a consistently hostile one. Indeed the tradition of enmity between the two neighbours may already have been foreshadowed in Sarpedon's contest with the Rhodian Tlepolemos in the *Iliad* 5.628-669. This is perhaps one of the later additions to the epic, possibly reflecting actual conflicts between Lycians and Rhodians early in the first millennium. In any case, the Rhodians had established one or more settlements on the southern Anatolian coast, in what was later to become the eastern part of Lycia (from the Arykandos river eastwards), dating back in one case at least to the early seventh century. Phaselis was founded by Greek colonists, almost certainly from Rhodes, in 691 BCE (see Bryce 1986 38 n. 47).

Apart from early conflicts with Rhodes, Lycia seems to have remained free of foreign interference until the last half of the sixth century due largely, perhaps, to its relative isolation from the Anatolian interior. As we have noted, Herodotos claims that the Cilicians

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[102] In general on Lycian history, see Bryce (1986); Frei (1990); Keen (1998). Keen provides the most comprehensive, up-to-date treatment.

and the Lycians were the only people unsubdued by the Lydian king Kroisos. However, like the Cilicians, the Lycians were eventually forced to submit to foreign overlordship ca. 540. This occurred when the Persian commander Harpagos campaigned in the region and met and defeated a small Lycian army on the plain lying north of the city of Xanthos. According to Herodotos (1.176), when the Lycians realized that defeat was inevitable they herded their wives, their children, their property, and their slaves into the acropolis, which they set ablaze and burnt to the ground. Then they made one last suicidal attack on Harpagos' troops and were killed to the last man. (For a detailed treatment of the Persian conquest and its aftermath, see Keen 1998 71-86.)

Henceforth Lycia became a subject state of the Persian Empire. Xanthos was rebuilt and repopulated, probably with Persian backing, and in 516/15 it was included among the countries constituting the first satrapy (Herodotos 3.90). Around this time, a local ruling dynasty was established in Xanthos. Almost certainly owing its elevation to Persian backing, it was to exercise authority over much of the country until the early years of the fourth century BCE. During this period, Lycia remained closely aligned with Persia, except in the middle decades of the fifth century when it became part of the Athenian Confederacy (see most recently Keen 1998 97-111). Its shift in allegiance at this time may not have been a voluntary one. Very likely the Athenian commander Kimon had used threats and intimidation to win it away from Persia during his campaigns in southern Asia Minor in the early 460s (see Bryce 1986 103-104). But Lycia had broken its ties with Athens by the beginning of the Peloponnesian War at the latest (431), and by the 420s had once more resumed its allegiance to Persia. This, no doubt, under the influence of the dynasty which appears to have retained its power in Xanthos during the preceding decades, in spite of its pro-Persian loyalties.

Yet the country seems to have been far from united in these loyalties. The Xanthian dynasty's adherence to its Persian overlords was probably the prime cause of the mounting opposition it now faced, leading to its decline and disappearance in the early years of the fourth century. In the wake of its demise a new leader emerged in the country, a man called Perikles from the city of Limyra, on the coast to the east of the Xanthos valley (see Bryce 1980; Keen 1998

148-170). The name of the famous fifth century Athenian statesman was very likely adopted by the new Lycian leader himself, to symbolize a renewal of cultural if not also political ties with the Greek world. After establishing his authority in eastern and central Lycia, Perikles extended his operations across the Xanthos river into western Lycia, where he encountered and defeated Arttum̃para, probably the last of the pro-Persian rulers in the west, and conquered the western Lycian city of Telmessos.[103] Very likely it was under Perikles' leadership that Lycia participated in the satrap rebellion, which broke out in 367 BCE against the Persian king Artaxerxes II. If so, Perikles may well have perished in the conflict, for he is heard of no more, and the rebellion was decisively crushed nine years after its outbreak. Lycia once more had Persian sovereignty imposed upon it, and in the new administrative arrangements which followed, it lost much of the autonomy it had previously enjoyed under Persian rule. It was now placed under the immediate authority of the Carian satrap Mausolos and his successors.[104] This situation continued until the year 334/3 BCE, when Lycia was invaded by Alexander the Great and the country was henceforth permanently removed from Persian control (Plutarch, *Alex.* 17, Arrian *anab.* 1.24.4-6).

Our knowledge of these events is derived from a number of sources, mainly foreign, occasionally indigenous. From Herodotos we learn of Lycia's subjection to Persia, from Diodoros and the Athenian Tribute Lists of its alliance with Athens,[105] and from Thucydides (2.69) of Lycia's confrontation with Athenian forces early in the period of the Peloponnesian War, resulting in the death of the Athenian commander Melesander. Perikles' military exploits are referred to briefly by two Greek writers, Polyaenos (*strat.* 5.42) and Theopompos (as in n. 103), and these references are complemented by a few scraps of information that can be gleaned from the epichoric inscriptions. As we have noted, TL 104b records Perikles' defeat of Arttum̃para.

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[103] His defeat of Arttum̃para is recorded in the inscription TL 104b. His conquest of Telmessos is recorded by Theopompos ap. Photius, *bib.* 176, 120a, 14-17 (Jacoby 115 F 103, 17).

[104] Information relating to this is found in the 'trilingual inscription', in Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic versions, discovered in the Letoon and published by Neumann (1979a 44-47) as N 320.

[105] Diodoros 11.60.4. For the references to Lycia in the Tribute Lists, see Bryce (1998 105).

6.5 *The evidence of the coinage*

One of our chief sources of information on the internal organization of Lycia is provided by the Lycian coinage. Several thousand coins are known from Lycia, the overwhelming majority of which are silver, though there are a small number of bronze coins dating to the early decades of the fourth century. The coins have come to light in a total of twenty-eight coin-hoards from a variety of provenances—some within Lycia, some outside it. Although a large number of the coins have only figural motifs, many also bear legends, either a personal name, a city-name, or both. Approximately forty prominent Lycians, including members of the Xanthian dynasty, issued coins bearing their own names in various regions of the country (see Mørkolm and Neumann 1978), and using several several different weight standards (see Mørkholm 1964). These coins throw important light on the administrative organization of the country during the dynastic period.

The earliest inscribed coins date from ca. 500 BCE and bear the Greek letters KYB, very likely the first three letters of the Greek name Kybernis, the leader according to Herodotos (7.98) of the Lycian naval contingent in Xerxes' armada.[106] His name is almost certainly the Hellenized version of the epichoric form Kuprlli. This is a prominent name in the Xanthian dynasty, set up in Xanthos in the wake of the Persian conquest. It appears in abbreviated form in epichoric coin legends dating to the period 460-40 BCE, where it is doubtless the name of a descendant and namesake of Herodotos' Kybernis (on the younger Kuprlli, see Keen 1998 112-124). It also appears in the 255-line inscription on the so-called and still largely unintelligible Xanthos stele inscription (TL 44a 1-3, 30-31), datable to the late fifth-early fourth century, along with the names of other persons who belong within the genealogy of the Xanthian dynasty. Other inscriptions, in Greek as well as in Lycian, and other coin legends provide complementary information about the members of this dynasty which include Kheriga, the grandson of the Kuprlli named on the Xanthos stele. From die-linked coins bearing the names of grandfather and grandson, we learn that Kheriga succeeded his grandfather in the dynastic seat, and like his predecessors issued

[106] The name and paternal identification in Herodotos should be read 'Kybernis, son of Kossikas', and not, as usually read, 'Kyberniskos, son of Sikas'.

coins in various regional centres of the country as well as in Xanthos itself. Other members of the dynasty include Kherẽi, the younger brother and successor of Kheriga, Merehi, and Kheriga's son Erbbina, probably the last member of the dynasty.[107]

Apart from the Xanthian dynasts some forty or more other Lycians are known to have issued coins in various parts of the country, most of them in the period extending from the first half of the fifth century through the first half of the fourth; and in several cases, the same person apparently minted coins in different parts of the country, both east and west of Xanthos. How do we account for all these within the country's administrative structure? The local coin-issuer probably functioned as some kind of regional administrator who was accountable to the dynast in Xanthos, who was in turn accountable to the Persian satrap and he in turn to the Persian king. The authority of the Xanthian dynasty depended on the support and cooperation of the coin-issuers as well as of other important persons and family groups in the regional centres. The Xanthos stele inscription makes reference to many prominent Lycians, known from coin legends and other inscriptions, who were apparently involved in collaborative enterprises with the Xanthian dynasty—until the dynasty disappeared in the years prior to the satrap rebellion.

6.6 *Lycia in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*[108]

With the disintegration of Alexander's empire after his death in 323, Lycia came first under the control of Antigonos of Macedon, and subsequently under Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule. However, on the defeat of the Seleucid king Antiochos III by the Romans at the battle of Magnesia in 190 BCE, Lycia was brought within the Roman sphere of influence. In 43 CE, the emperor Claudius joined Lycia with the neighbouring country of Pamphylia and made it a Roman province. For the next three centuries, Lycia remained firmly under Roman rule.

Early in the second century BCE, the Lycians formed a federation amongst their cities which was to continue in existence until the fourth century CE. The Lycian League, or *koinon*, met regularly to

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[107] On the dynasty in general and the family relationships within it, see Bryce (1982).

[108] See also Keen (1998 175-181).

discuss and decide upon matters of war, foreign alliances, and diplomatic missions. It also had important judicial functions. There were twenty-three member-cities of the League, categorized according to their size and importance, with corresponding voting powers (for primary information on the League, see Strabo 14.3.3). The six most important cities were Xanthos, Patara, Pinara, Olympos, Myra, and Tlos. Meetings of the League were conducted under the presidency of an annually elected Lykiarch. Although the League lost much of its autonomy when Lycia became a Roman province, it continued to give the Lycians a strong sense of social and political coherence throughout the period of the Roman domination.

6.7 *Greek elements in Lycia*

By the second half of the sixth century BCE, Lycia had established a number of contacts with the Greek world, as reflected in its adoption of the Greek alphabet for writing its own language and the finds of Greek pottery in the region, especially east Greek and Attic. Throughout the fifth century Lycia became increasingly receptive to Greek commercial contacts and cultural influences, despite its political alignment with Persia. This is indicated both by the apparent increase in Attic imported pottery in this period (see Metzger 1972 192-195) as well as by the Greek iconography and style of a number of the tomb reliefs (see Childs 1981 61). Further evidence of increasing Greek influence on the indigenous civilization is provided by the growing number of Greek deities making their appearance in Lycia from the late fifth century onwards. Images of these deities now begin to feature on the coinage of the country (see Mørkholm and Zahle 1976 70-79), and by the end of the century they appear in inscriptions as recipients of sacrificial and votive offerings.

By the early fourth century a syncretistic process seems to have been underway. Beginning in the late fifth century, this had led to several explicit identifications between Luwian and Greek deities. Most notably, the Luwian mother goddess appearing in the epichoric inscriptions as *ēni mahanahi*, 'mother of the gods', was equated with and eventually supplanted by the Greek goddess Leto (see Bryce 1983). Leto's daughter Artemis first appears in a Lycian context in the Xanthos stele inscription (TL 44c 8), and subsequently the cult of Apollo was established in the country. Under Greek influence the cult of mother and children gained in importance through the Hellenistic

and Roman periods, as indicated by the substantial remains unearthed at the sanctuary near Xanthos called the Letoon, where temples associated with the three deities have come to light, and by the designation of the divine triad as the πατρῶι θέοι, the country's national gods.

The sheltered harbours of Lycia provided several convenient ports of call for commercial shipping in the eastern Mediterranean, particularly Greek shipping in a world of expanding Greek commercial enterprise along the coastlands of the eastern Mediterranean following the end of the Peloponnesian war. And no doubt Greek commercial contacts with Lycia greatly facilitated the spread of Greek culture in the country and the reception into Lycian society of increasing numbers of resident Greeks. This may in part be reflected in the appearance of Greek inscriptions from the late fifth century onwards alongside the epichoric inscriptions. Greek appears on some twenty occasions in the inscriptions, generally paired with the native language in full bilingual or part bilingual texts, in both sepulchral and votive contexts.

Twenty-eight Greek names, some in Lycian form, appear in the Lycian inscriptions and coin legends. Of these we can conclude that at least twenty-two were permanent settlers in Lycia (Bryce 1990 537-539). While it is possible that Greek names were occasionally assumed by Lycians of purely indigenous stock, we should allow the possibility that most if not all of these twenty-two persons were at least partly Greek in origin. Even so, the Greek names represent only a small proportion of the total number of personal names attested in our sources for this period. The overwhelming number of names are of indigenous origin and, as such, provide a strong argument against any suggestion that Greeks settled in Lycia in significant numbers during the epichoric period. At least, that applies to persons who were likely to own inscribed tombs or be granted burial space in such tombs.

But following Alexander's conquest, Lycia became increasingly subject to the political, military, and commercial interests of a range of foreign powers, both Near Eastern and Greek. Foreigners were now settling in Lycia in ever greater numbers. And by far the greatest proportion of these came from the Greek world. From the third century onwards the number of Greek inscriptions found in Lycia rapidly increases, indicating a substantial growth in the Greek

population of the country, the thousands of Greek names in the inscriptions far outweighing the small number of Lycian, Persian, and other foreign names. Indeed in the first century BCE Cicero, who knew something of the Lycians since there were Lycians in his army during his governorship of Cilicia, refers to them simply as a 'Greek people' (*In Verrem*, 4.10.21).

To what extent did indigenous elements survive in Lycia in the Greco-Roman period? In this case arguments from silence are not entirely conclusive. As we have noted, most of our information about the country is based on the observations or second-hand information of foreigners who for the most part have a Hellenocentric bias and show little understanding of or interest in the country's indigenous practices. Undoubtedly the ever-increasing Greek influence on Lycia led to a corresponding decline in the indigenous practices and customs of the country, many of which may have extended back into the days of the Lycians' Bronze Age ancestors. And indeed much of our written information about Lycia, especially that which appears in literary sources, refers to a civilization that had already been substantially Hellenized. Strabo (14.3.3) claims that because of their good government the Lycians remained free under the Romans, retaining many of their ancestral customs. But the customs to which he refers were probably Greek in origin. Already by the end of the fourth century BCE Lycia had become in many respects an extension of the Greek world. Even the fact that the Lycians had a language of their own seems to have aroused little interest, to judge from the silence of our literary records on the matter.

In fact it is difficult to identify in our sources any custom or practice which might be regarded as distinctively Lycian. The few references we have in Greco-Roman literature to Lycian social traditions, customs, and characteristics are largely anecdotal and in some cases misleading. For example, the account of matrilineality, which Herodotos (1.173) claims sets the Lycians apart from all other people, almost certainly represents exceptional rather than standard practice in native Lycian society, to judge from the sepulchral inscriptions. The custom of interring the dead in rock-cut tombs or sarcophaguses represents a certain continuity in tradition, though to judge from the names of the tomb occupants in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the continuity of the custom was due to the Greeks rather than to an ongoing indigenous element in the Lycian population.

Yet we should not too readily assume that the indigenous civilization succumbed uniformly throughout Lycia to the influences of Greek and Roman civilization. These influences were probably most marked in the important urban centres of the region, particularly those most accessible to the sea. In the less accessible regions, and particularly in small rural communities, there may well have been a much greater persistence of elements of the indigenous civilization. Of course by their very nature such communities were unlikely to leave their mark on either the material or the written record, or to attract the attention or the interest of those who put their observations on the Lycians into writing.

Until the late fourth century BCE the Lycians can probably be identified as primarily a Luwian people, perhaps in the majority of cases direct descendants of the Bronze Age Lukka people. This on the basis of the language of their inscriptions, and many of the personal and divine names which figure in these inscriptions. And some of their legendary traditions may derive at least in part from their Bronze Age past. We have yet to determine the extent to which other traditions observable in Lycian society are relics of this past or represent new developments, new departures in the dramatically changed world that came about following the end of the Bronze Age.

7. *Some Final Observations*

Our attempts to construct a history of the post-Bronze Age Luwian peoples in other parts of southern Anatolia during the early centuries of the first millennium involve a major assumption: that the appearance of small numbers of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions in particular regions reflects an actual presence of Luwian populations in these regions. Such an assumption does not of course preclude the presence of non-Luwian elements there as well (particularly in Que, covering in part Bronze Age Kizzuwatna, where there may well have been a continuing Hurrian element), nor does it necessarily imply that Luwian elements were numerically dominant in these regions. We should allow that the inscriptions could have been the work of a minority ruling class, or caste, ethnically and culturally different from those over whom they exercised authority. Similarly, the 'recognizably Anatolian' names of Tabalic rulers like Tuatti, Kikki, and Puhamme as attested in Assyrian texts (see Hawkins 2000 427) do not necessarily reflect the ethnicity of the population of the region

as a whole.[109] Nor can we tell whether those who spoke the language of the inscriptions had longstanding local connections. It is possible that in some cases they were the descendants of comparatively recent arrivals in search of new lands to settle after displacement from their original homelands. That is suggested, for example, by the Mopsos tradition.

We should bear in mind that the hieroglyphic script was initially adopted by the Great Kings of Hatti as the preferred medium for recording their exploits in monumental form, more suitable for this purpose than the cuneiform script most commonly used for communications and records on clay. Luwian began as and remained the language of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, even though, in the Late Bronze Age at least, this was very rarely the language of the authors or commissioners of the inscriptions.[110] In other words, the discovery of a hieroglyphic inscription in a particular region is not in itself an unquestionable indicator that this was a Luwian-occupied zone. Late Bronze Age hieroglyphic inscriptions, even in provincial areas of the Hittite kingdom, were generally a hallmark of Hittite royalty. An obvious exception is the Karabel inscription of Tarkasnawa, the thirteenth century ruler of the Luwian-speaking western Anatolian kingdom of Mira. But that was inscribed in the final decades of the Late Bronze Age, at a time when Mira's king had assumed an unprecedently powerful role in western Anatolian affairs, and very likely enjoyed a far higher status in his relations with the Great King of Hatti than had any of his predecessors or contemporaries in the Hittite subject states.

We should therefore be careful not to make any *a priori* assumption that the language in which the Iron Age hieroglyphic monuments were written was in common use in the regions where they were found. The significant point is that the hieroglyphic tradition was a carry-over from Hittite royalty, and like the title 'Great King' was one of the trappings of kingship adopted by later and lesser kings. The royal titulature was subsequently maintained by post-Bronze Age kings and princes who often sought to represent themselves in the mould of the Great Kings of Hatti.

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[109] Though a broader cross-section of the local populace appears in the Anatolian-type names found in the KULULU lead strips; see Hawkins (2000 431, 503-513).

[110] For a summary of suggested reasons for the use of Luwian rather than Hittite (Nesite) for the monumental inscriptions on stone, see Hawkin (2000 3 n. 17).

While this point needs to be made, it by no means implies that the populations where the post-Bronze Age Anatolian inscriptions have been found were *not* predominantly Luwian. Indeed we have suggested that already by the middle of the second millennium these regions had a substantial Luwian population, and that the Luwians as a whole constituted the largest population groups in Anatolia. If anything the Luwian populations of southern Anatolia may have increased with the collapse of the Bronze Age civilizations and the likely displacement of western Anatolian Luwian groups southwards and eastwards, and perhaps even beyond the southeastern corner of Anatolia into northern Syriâ. But are the arguments for this any more than circumstantial?

The attestation of a significant number of Luwian names in the regions of the hieroglyphic inscriptions would provide strong additional evidence that these regions had substantial Luwian populations. Unfortunately few correlations of this kind can as yet be established. The total number of Luwian names in the regions where hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found is at present very small. On the other hand, we have noted that Luwian onomastic elements are clustered particularly in Cilicia Aspera and Lycia, neither of which has produced any hieroglyphic inscriptions. Nevertheless these regional onomastic clusters seem clearly to attest the survival of Luwian elements in parts of southern Anatolia long after the cessation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions and well into the Hellenistic period. A distinctive feature of the Lycian civilization is the survival of some 200 Luwian-based epichoric inscriptions written in a Greek-derived alphabetic script and ranging in time from the sixth to the fourth centuries BCE. These inscriptions, taken together with the many examples of Luwian onomastic elements which they provide, indicate that Lycia retained a strong Luwian presence, almost certainly a continuation from Bronze Age Lukka, until at least the last third of the first millennium when this presence seems to have gradually faded before the ever-increasing influx of Greek population and cultural elements.

Finally, do we have evidence for Luwian settlement in Iron Age Syria? It may be that Luwians came here in increasing numbers in the post-Bronze Age centuries, though there is little material or historical evidence for a significant Luwian presence in the region. The *comparatively* large number of hieroglyphic inscriptions found at neo-Hittite sites in Syria should not have undue significance

attached to them in this respect, for reasons similar to those given above in connection with the hieroglyphic inscriptions of southern Anatolia. Admittedly the appearance on lead strips of letters and economic documents written in the hieroglyphic script seems to indicate a wider use of the script in this period, as Hawkins (2000 3) points out. He adds that since documents of this kind would normally have been written on perishable materials like wood, leather, and papyrus, there is a likelihood that all types of texts for which the Hittites used cuneiform were now written in this way (and for that reason lost for all time).

That is quite possible, and raises the question of why the cuneiform script apparently died out in the neo-Hittite world, given that it had behind it a strong scribal tradition, and in many respects must have been a much more practicable medium of communication than the more cumbersome hieroglyphic script. While the lead strips *suggest* the possibility of Luwian chancelleries in the neo-Hittite states, we must await a greater range of finds of this nature before speculating at any length on the existence of such chancelleries and the implications of their existence. In any case, other independent forms of evidence would have to be produced in order to warrant the assumption that Luwian epigraphic developments reflected or arose out of a substantial Luwian population in the neo-Hittite states of northern Syria. That is to say, we need more comprehensive indications of a significant Luwian presence in Iron Age Syria before we can justifiably include the neo-Hittite states of the region in a historical survey of the Luwian-speaking peoples.[111]

[111] On the history of these states see Jasink (1995) and the respective sections on historical context in Hawkins (2000).

CHAPTER FOUR

SCRIPTS AND TEXTS

J. D. HAWKINS

1. *Introduction*

The language Luwian has been transmitted to us written in two different scripts: one the Cuneiform script of Mesopotamian origin written on clay tablets recovered among the royal archives of Boğazköy-Hattusa and dating to the period of the Hittite kingdom, ca. 1650-1200 BCE; the second a Hieroglyphic script preserved on rock and dressed stone monuments, and miscellaneous metal artefacts, dating also to the Hittite kingdom but much more common for the period of the Neo-Hittite states, ca. 1100-700 BCE. This Hieroglyphic script is further found on seals and their impressions for the whole period, but it is seldom possible to characterize these short inscriptions (names and titles) specifically as Luwian.

'*Cuneiform Luwian*'. Luwian from the Cuneiform texts of Boğazköy has been recognized since the reading and decipherment of those documents ca. 1920 from the self-designation *luwili*, 'in Luwian', which is applied to connected passages of this language. Additional material has been collected from texts composed in the Hittite language, where words marked with one or two initial diagonal wedges (𒍣, 𒍣𒍣, '*Glossenkeil*') are now recognized as Luwian. Such words become common in the later Hittite texts, those of the 13th century BCE. Increasing knowledge of Luwian has recently permitted the further recognition of unglossed Luwian loanwords in earlier Hittite texts going back to the earliest period.

'*Hieroglyphic Luwian*'. The language of the Hieroglyphic texts has not yielded any such self-designation as 'Luwian', and the slow recognition of its Luwian character has advanced only step by step with its gradual decipherment (see below, section 3), but this has been fully recognized over the last thirty years.

So it is that we have in Luwian a language written in two different scripts over almost a millennium, and to this may be added the closely related Lycian of the period 500-300 BCE written in a third script, a form of the alphabet borrowed from the Greeks.

2. *Recognition*

2.1 *Cuneiform Luwian*

To the best of our knowledge, Hittite literacy goes back no further than the foundation of the Hittite kingdom of Hattusa by Hattusili I, ca. 1650 BCE. This king probably took the practice of writing in the Cuneiform script on clay tablets, along with the scribes who possessed the craft, from a north Syrian centre during his wars in the area. These scribes would have written principally in the Akkadian language, and this became and remained throughout the history of Hattusa its cultural language, linking it to the other powers of the Levant, Mesopotamia and Egypt. At Hattusa the scribes adapted the Cuneiform script for writing the principal language of the kingdom, Hittite (as we know it, *nešili* or *nešumnili*, the 'language of Nesa (Kanesh)/ the Nesians' to its speakers). Thus Hittite and Akkadian (*pabilili*, 'Babylonian') were the two main languages of the Hattusa archives.

The scribes of Hattusa also began to write down texts or shorter passages of other languages for special purposes: Hattian (*ḫattili*), the language of the pre-Hittite population (Klinger 1996 31-80); Hurrian (*ḫurlili*), the language of the Hittites' eastern neighbours (Wegner 2000 15-27); and the Hittite-related Luwian (*luwili*) and Palaic (*palaumnili*, Carruba 1970), from western and northwestern Anatolia respectively. We may assume that these languages were first committed to writing at Hattusa, with the exception of Hurrian which was certainly written earlier, the Hurrians being at least partially instrumental in transmitting literacy from Mesopotamia to Anatolia.

For writing Luwian, as for the other languages, the Hattusa scribes used the Cuneiform script, as already adapted for Hittite, and in the case of Luwian at least, this can have presented no problem, since they had been writing Luwian loanwords in Hittite from earliest times, as is now recognized. Indeed the writing down of Luwian texts and passages, until recently considered not to antedate ca. 1400 BCE,

has now been shown to go back to the late 16th century BCE (Starke 1985 21-31).

These Luwian 'texts' are mostly passages of the language quoted in Hittite texts as incantations and cultic songs, thus not specially coherent or intelligible, also not usually well preserved. For the initial period of Luwian studies (from the reading of the Boğazköy texts until after the Second World War), published Luwian material was notably scanty. The ground-breaking identification and classification by Forrer (principally 1922) was followed by studies from Friedrich (e.g. 1937, 1947) and Rosenkranz (1942 destroyed before publication during the War, reconstructed 1952).

A new period of Luwian studies was opened up by Otten's publication of a substantial new body of material as *KUB* XXXV (Otten 1953a) and his studies of this (1953b, 1953c). A dictionary soon followed: Laroche 1959. The relationship of Luwian to Lycian was already attracting notice: Tritsch 1950; Laroche 1957-58, 1960a, 1967.

2.2. *Hieroglyphic*[1]

Initial discovery and recognition of the Hieroglyphic texts long antedated the excavation of the Cuneiform archives of Boğazköy (1906 onwards), though meaningful access to the information contained in them came afterwards and slowly. Already in a lecture in 1876 Sayce was able to apply the term 'Hittite' (from Old Testament *ḥtym*, identified with Egyptian *ḫt'*, Assyrian *Ḫatti*) to the nascent corpus of inscriptions, the HAMA stones, ALEPPO 1, İVRİZ and the NINEVEH bullae (Sayce 1877), soon augmented by the first KARKAMIŠ inscriptions and the rediscovered TARKONDEMOS seal. Messerschmidt's *Corpus* (1900, 1902, 1906) included some 32 major and 29 minor inscriptions, a total nearly doubled by the KARKAMIŠ inscriptions excavated between 1911 and 1914 (Hogarth 1914 pls. A1-A11; Woolley 1921 pls. A12-A18).

The first attempts at decipherment were those of Sayce (1882, 1884) working from the digraphic (i.e. with parallel inscriptions in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic) TARKONDEMOS seal (here Fig. 1a), but though he correctly identified Cun. LUGAL KUR, 'king of the land...', with the Hier. equivalents, the Cun. writings of the names of the king and the country were sufficiently ambiguous to defeat him.

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[1] For details see Hawkins 2000 6-9.

(The correct readings were only achieved many years later, after the reading of the Boğazköy archives: Friedrich 1930a 367; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1998.)

The recognition of the word-signs 'king' and 'land' did permit the identification of the toponyms Hamath (Hama), Carchemish (Jerablus), Gurgum (Maraş) and Tuwana (Niğde-Bor) in the inscriptions from those sites, as well as the names of several kings of these countries occurring in the Cuneiform (Assyrian) records. But in spite of this, would-be decipherers of the period 1880-1920 did not succeed in identifying enough clear and correct phonetic values (i.e. syllable signs) from the names to make any substantial progress into the script. Full and proper recognition of the script and its language came only with the successful stages of the decipherment.

3. *Decipherment of Hieroglyphic*[2]

3.1. *Initial considerations*

From what has been already said, it may be understood that this Hieroglyphic script, like other ancient writing systems, has two main classes of sign: (1) the word-signs ('logograms'), where one sign stands for one word, e.g. 'king', 'country': (2) the syllable-signs ('syllabograms'), where the signs stand for syllables that are used to spell out words phonetically, e.g. *tu-wa-na* (COUNTRY), 'the land of Tuwana'.

The first stage of decipherment consists of recognizing the logograms, which is facilitated with Hieroglyphic by its partly pictorial ('pictographic') character, and of assigning correct phonetic values to the syllabograms on the basis of the available evidence, which gives the only way into the language so written. The next stage involves identifying, analysing and understanding this language, whether known, belonging to a known group, or quite unknown. The decipherers of Hieroglyphic had as models the successful decipherments of Egyptian Hieroglyphic and Mesopotamian Cuneiform, both achieved in the early to mid-19th century, both also mixed logographic-syllabographic systems.

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[2] For details see Hawkins 2000 13-17.

The early, largely unsuccessful decipherment attempts were overtaken by the excavation of the Boğazköy Cuneiform archives and the recognition of their Hittite and Luwian languages in the period 1906-1922. The publication and understanding of these texts and their historical background during the 1920's provided a much more secure base for substantial progress in decipherment.

3.2. *Successful entry*

From the beginning of the 1930's five scholars working largely independently published studies which constituted partly overlapping entries into the script: these were Meriggi (after preliminary studies, 1933, 1934a, 1934b), Gelb (1931, 1935, 1942), Forrer (1932), Bossert (1932) and Hrozný (preliminary studies, republished in 1933, 1934, 1937). Combining their results achieved by the end of the 1930's, we find that they had recognized many logograms, and evaluated many syllabograms correctly or approximately, but the reverse side of the achievement was the incorrect recognitions and evaluations, which persisted in too many cases, obscuring the character of the emerging language and rendering unreliable many translations attempted.

What the language of the Hieroglyphs might be was indeed discussed by these scholars. They generally used the terms translating into English as Hittite Hieroglyphs (for the script) and Hieroglyphic Hittite (language and inscriptions), and they frequently signalled the uncertainty by inverted commas around 'Hittite'. The view most generally expressed was that the language was related to but different from Hittite. Sometimes Luwian was mentioned as a comparison, but in view of the then state of knowledge of Cuneiform Luwian and the level of decipherment of Hieroglyphic, it would have been premature to press this. See Gelb (1931 80, 82f.) quoting Friedrich's well-founded suggestion of Luwian; Hrozný (1933 12-16); Forrer (1932 54ff.), suggesting the term 'Tabalian' (from the Assyrian designation of the southwest Anatolian plateau in the Iron Age); Meriggi 1935 (from a lecture in 1933) specifically used 'Luwian', but did not maintain this.

3.3. *Seals* (Boğazköy)

During the 1930's renewed German excavation at Boğazköy began to produce clay 'bullae' (sealings) stamped with impressions of royal and official seals. The former in the manner already seen on TAR-

KONDEMOS were digraphic: that is a central circle bore the name and titles of the king, sometimes also the queen, in Hieroglyphic, and an outer ring or rings bore the same in Cuneiform, also with affiliation and epithets (see e.g. Fig. 1b). Official seals on the other hand are normally written only in Hieroglyphic, Cuneiform equivalents being rare.

These digraphic writings provide Cun. + Hier. equivalents which are extremely valuable, indeed one of the main sources of evidence for checking and extending the decipherment. After preliminary publications in annual reports, the sealings were published by Güterbock (1940, 1942), who himself utilized the new information to contribute to the decipherment.

3.4. *The Bilingual* (KARATEPE)

Immediately after the break of the Second World War, the great bilingual inscription KARATEPE (here Plate IIb-c) was discovered by Bossert and Halet Çambel in February 1946. This Hieroglyphic-Phoenician text is the longest in either script with a total of 75 clauses. Its word-for-word bilingual character both confirmed the general correctness of the pre-war decipherment and immensely extended a secure knowledge of the language's vocabulary, though Bossert published it only gradually, leaving it incomplete at his death in 1960 (see e.g. Hawkins 2000 46).

Retrospectively however it must be noted that KARATEPE failed to correct some serious on-going misapprehensions which attended the decipherment: the evidence was there, but unluckily it was masked by misleading considerations. These misapprehensions involved the two pairs of crucial signs , and , already but incorrectly 'deciphered' as *i/ī* and *a/ā*, and the parallel pair , incorrectly identified as variant forms of the sign for the relative pronoun. The effect of these misapprehensions was to prevent the identity of the language of the Hieroglyphs with Cuneiform Luwian being properly perceived, so that it continued to be regarded as a different if related language.

3.5. *Further seals* (Ras Shamra)

Another major contribution to the decipherment followed hard on the preliminary publications of KARATEPE: the discovery at Ras Shamra/ Ugarit in 1953 and 1954 of an archive of the Hittite imperial admin-

istration (Schaeffer et al. 1956). The state documents, clay tablets inscribed in Cuneiform Akkadian, bore impressions of royal seals of the known digraphic type, and additionally of officials' seals inscribed only in Hieroglyphic but with identifying epigraphs in Cuneiform, NA_4.KIŠIB PN, 'seal of So-and-so', which effectively rendered them digraphic (Laroche apud Schaeffer 1956). But though these Cuneiform-Hieroglyphic equivalents gave confirmation of existing syllabic values and further new evidence, coincidentally these too failed to correct the misapprehensions noted above.

3.6. *Publications*

The combined accession of information from KARATEPE and the Ras Shamra seals was digested and presented by Laroche and Meriggi. Laroche had been working on Luwian and the relation to Lycian as noted above, section 2.1, including Hieroglyphic material. He stated (1957/58 160): 'La nature "louvite" de la langue des hiéroglyphs hittites n'est pas une théorie, main une constatation empirique, que le déchiffrement impose à chacun.' His book *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites. Première partie, L'écriture* (Paris 1960) is essentially a signary, listing the signs arranged in so far as possible into convenient groups (parts of the body, animals, vegetation etc.), giving their values along with excerpts of the most significant passages and a brief outline of the attempts at reading, failed and successful. The second part, which never appeared, was intended to present editions of the best-understood inscriptions, a grammatical description of the language and its position within the Anatolian language group.

Meriggi's *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar* (Wiesbaden 1962) is a completely revised edition of the glossary to his earliest editions of the texts (Meriggi 1934b). Interestingly he noted (p. 1 n. 1) that he should have used the term 'hieroglyphisch-luwische', but had abandoned it for lack of support.

These two books have remained basic to the study of Hieroglyphic up the present, in spite of the element of obsolescence introduced by the developments outlined in the next section, 3.7. My *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* Volume III is at present (2002) in preparation, in which it is intended to include an updated signary and glossary.

Meriggi followed this *Glossar* with his *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico* (1966, 1967, 1975), which presented all the texts in

copy, transliteration, translation and commentary. His texts though mostly collated by personal inspection are somewhat over-reliant on old and often inaccurate publications, and his transliterations are victims of the developments noted, as he himself acknowledged in his last works. Nevertheless this series of editions remained the main reference work on the subject for over 25 years, and still stands as a monument to this aspect of his wide-ranging life's work.

Mittelberger's review articles of Laroche 1960b and Meriggi 1962, together with a further article setting out his own views, still command attention (Mittelberger 1962, 1963, 1964). Significantly, he proposed a number of modifications of some important signs, transferring them from *a*-vocalization to the under-represented *i*-vocalization, and the re-reading of the sign 𔕰 from *ā* to *ia*.

Bossert in the last year of his life posed the question: 'Ist die B-L Schrift im wesentlichen entziffert?' (1960, 1961a, 1961b), where he explored the attractions of alternative values for the 'misapprehended' signs 𔖙, 𔖚 and 𔕰, but he was unable to carry this through or work out fully a convincing system.

3.7. *The 'new readings'*

The decisive evidence permitting the correction of the four crucial 'misapprehended signs' appeared from an unexpected quarter. Measures written on Urartian pithoi (storage jars) in Cuneiform were long known, but at Altıntepe, one of the most westerly Urartian sites, the same measures were found written in Hittite Hieroglyphs (Özgüç 1969), thus providing in effect another digraphic writing (noted by Laroche 1971a [1973]; Klein 1974). As correspondence for the Hier. sign 𔖚, at that time read *ī*, the Cun. parallels offered *si*, i.e. not a vowel sign but sibilant + vowel. The evidence of this digraph was sufficient to propose the 'new readings' for the two pairs of 'misapprehended' signs as follows:

𔖙 𔖚 formerly *i/ī*, new readings *zi/za*
𔕮 𔕰 formerly *a/ā*, new readings *i/ia*

The pairs of signs, each with one differentiated by the addition of the double strokes across the base, could be seen to be descended from originally undifferentiated single signs of the Empire period, respectively 𔕫 and 𔕬, which should thus be read *zi/a* and *i(a)* (*zi* or *za* and *i* or *ia*) (Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann 1973). The

differentiation by double strokes was seen to be based, following an original observation of Gelb (1942 2) that the double strokes represented a cursive form of the sign *a* (*e* to Gelb), on the use of a ligature indicating an *a*-vocalization (Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1978).

Confirmation that 𔓐 = *za* was in fact available already from KARATEPE in the name of the author *á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-* = Phoen. *'ztwd* once it was realized that the LITUUS prefixed to the name, in which the equivalent of Phoen. *z* had been incorrectly sought, was in fact a logogram-determinative (Hawkins 1980b). But by fortunate archaeological chance, a further large find of digraphic seal impressions from Meskene during rescue excavations began to become available in 1976 (first described by Laroche in a paper at the XXXVI Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Birmingham that year; first publication, Laroche 1981; final publication only with Beyer 2001; cf. Gonnet 1991). These unlike the similar Ras Shamra digraphs produced clear evidence for the equations Cun. *zi* and *za* = Hier. *zi/a*, Cun. *i* and *ia*, also *e* = Hier. *i(a)*, e.g. in the following names:

zi/za	***Amzahi, Hilarizi, Aziya, Zimri-Ba'al, Maziya***
i	***Ibniya, Ibni-Dagan, Ilani, Imlik-Dagan, Ini-Tešub***
e	***Ebri-Tešub, Ehli-Kušuh, Elli***
ia	***Ibniya, Ehliya, Maziya***

A further Hier. recognition linked to the 'new readings' concerned the pair of signs 𔓑 𔓐, which can be seen to parallel the pairs *zi/za* and *i/ia* in being a Late differentiated doublet of a single Empire original sign 𔓒. Formerly misidentified, this sign, following the appearance of new evidence showing 𔓐 with a value *ná*, could be proposed as the Hier. sign for the negative, thus NEG, with Late differentiation NEG_3/NEG_2 reading *ni/na*, parallel to *zi/za* and *i/ia*. This was confirmed by contextual examination, to which even bilingual evidence from KARATEPE contributed, showing Hier. NEG_2 = Phoen. *bl*, 'not', which again by mischance had been masked in the earlier interpretation (see Hawkins 1975). This recognition gave:

Empire Hier.	NEG-*wa/i* (factual negative),	NEG-*sa* (prohibitive)
=Cun. Luw.	*nāwa*	*niš*
Late Hier.	NEG_2 (*na*)	NEG_3 (*ni*)
disjunctives	NEG_2-*pa* (*napa*)	*ni-pa* (*nipa*)[3]

[3] See further Morpurgo Davies 1975, especially on the disjunctives.

The result of the 'new readings', together with the revelation of the negatives, was the (re)unification of the two branches of Luwian, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic, and the main work of the period since 1975 has been the ever more detailed demonstration of how close indeed they are. The remaining differences are restricted to a few minor features, perhaps dialectal (see Chapter Five below for discussion). In fact this closeness is actually surprising, given the separation of the two corpuses in time, space and content: Cun. Luwian comprising mostly fragmentary and obscure incantations of the period 1600-1300 BCE, also single words (*Glossenkeil*) and miscellaneous loan stems in Hittite texts; and Hier. Luwian, commemorative inscriptions on stone and other durable materials, a few from 1300-1200 BCE but mostly ca. 1100-700 BCE. See further section 5, Texts.

4. *Luwian united: progress since 1975*

Acceptance of the 'new readings' has been general among interested scholars, most notably Meriggi (1980), Gelb (see Hawkins 2000 16 n. 163) and others (ibid. nn. 164-172). Progress in the understanding of the language as now perceived from the combined sources has been rapid and has resulted in substantial publications.

On the Cuneiform side, following a number of preliminary studies Starke's *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift* (*StBoT* 30, 1985), and *Untersuchungen zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens* (*StBoT* 31, 1990) have set the subject on a new and secure footing. On the basis of the collection and reorganization of all the available material, Starke's thorough analysis has greatly extended our knowledge of the language. Melchert's *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon* (1993) provides in provisional form (revision in progress) a much-needed glossary to the corpus as now assembled.

On the Hieroglyphic side, my own *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, Volume I, parts 1-3 (2000), which also followed a number of preliminary studies by myself and by Anna Morpurgo Davies (ibid. p. 16 n. 176), joined with Volume II, Halet Çambel's definitive publication of the text of the KARATEPE bilingual, made available a complete revision and up-dating of all the material from the 'Iron Age' (i.e. post-Hittite Empire). The long time spent in press by this work (1990-2000) rendered somewhat problematic its relation to other important contributions appearing during this interval. A Volume

III to include Addenda of the new Iron Age material, the Empire period inscriptions, and a general Signary, Glossary and Grammar of Hieroglyphic is in preparation.

One book which came to hand after the *Corpus* had gone to press was Marazzi's *Il Geroglifico Anatolico. Problemi di analisi e prospettive di ricerca* (1990), which drew together the scattered material. Marazzi subsequently convened a colloquium held on the island of Procida in 1995 to agree and formalize the system of transliteration, the logograms in Latin and the values of the syllabograms. The proceedings appeared as Marazzi et al., *Il Geroglifico Anatolico. Sviluppi della ricerca a venti anni dalla sua 'ridecifrazione'* (1998 [2000]). The system as set out here has been generally adopted.

5. *The Texts*

5.1. *Cuneiform Luwian*

As noted above (section 2.1), apart from the supplements afforded by the *Glossenkeil* words (words marked as Luwian by glossing wedges 𒑱 or 𒑲 in Hittite texts of the 13th century BCE) and now recognizable Luwian loan stems borrowed into earlier Hittite, the only actual Cuneiform Luwian 'texts' are passages of incantation and cult songs of Hittite ritual and festival contexts of Luwian background. These are transmitted in often diverging, mostly fragmentary copies. Starke (1985) has done a remarkable job on reconstructing the comparatively few text groups and their dating, and has shown that, contrary to earlier opinion holding such texts hardly to date before 1400 BCE, the bulk of the compositions were written in the 16th-15th centuries BCE.

The rituals as is regular for such texts are usually attributed to the authorship of a named practitioner, often a woman. The most prominent of these is the hierodule (MUNUS.SUḪUR.LÁ) Kuwattalla, known as a contemporary of the king Arnuwanda I, and the author of these rituals. Other named practitioners are the 'Old Woman' (^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI) Tunnawi, Zarpiya the 'Doctor' (^{LÚ}A.ZU) of Kizzuwatna (see Plate Ia), and Purianni. The other main type of incantation occurring is those used for pregnancy, sometimes specifically so named, sometimes marked as the words of the goddess Kamrusepa.

The Luwian festival songs are found mostly in texts associated with the city Istanuwa, also Lallupiya, but there is also one for the Storm-god and Sun-goddess of Arinna which is specifically located in Hattusa.

Other Luwian texts have not been identified, apart from two possible fragments of letters. There remains of course a considerable group of unidentified and unclassified fragments. Thus Luwian text material is very limited in extent, content and vocabulary, and as incantations and cult songs, not strikingly intelligible.

5.2. *Hieroglyphic*

Hieroglyphic texts owe their survival to being executed on a durable medium, normally stone, occasionally metal, and this dictates their character: they are texts for which permanency is required, generally commemorative in nature. They divide into two chronological groups: one much larger and better known, dating ca. 1100-700 BCE, associated with the Neo-Hittite states of southeast Anatolia and north Syria; the other, small and poorly known, belonging to the late Hittite Empire of the 13th century BCE. This latter, it will be noted, is the only point at which Cun. and Hier. Luwian overlap.

5.2.1. *The Empire corpus*[4]

The few longer inscriptions are all associated with the last two generations of the Hattusa dynasty, namely Tudhaliya IV and his son Suppiluliuma II (with the possible exception of the ANKARA silver bowl, for which see below, 5.2.4). For Tudhaliya we have the EMİRGAZİ altars (see Plate Ic), base and fragment, YALBURT, KARAKUYU and probably KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA; also three short stelae and a fragment, BOĞAZKÖY 3, BOĞAZKÖY 18, DELİHASANLİ and BOĞAZKÖY 24; for Suppiluliuma, BOĞAZKÖY 5 (NİŞANTAŞ) and BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG); for the eunuch Taprammi (contemporary of Ini-Teshub of Carchemish, probably an official of Tudhaliya), BOĞAZKÖY 1 and the probably connected BOĞAZKÖY 2, and the KINIK bronze bowl inscription.

For the generation preceding Tudhaliya, we have FRAKTİN and TAŞÇI from his father Hattusili III, SİRKELİ from his uncle Muwattalli II, and ALEPPO 1 from their first cousin Talmi-Sharruma

[4] New editions in preparation for *CHLI*, Volume III.

king of Aleppo. This group comprises the earliest datable Hieroglyphic inscriptions (except possibly the ANKARA silver bowl). Not datable in terms of relation to the Hattusa dynasty are BOĞAZKÖY 12, a small stele inscription of a king of Ishuwa (Hawkins 1998a 288), and KOCAOĞUZ, an unpublished stele from Afyon province in the Afyon Museum, the dedication of an unknown prince.

Other short inscriptions consisting only of names and titles are found attached to rock-cut figures, often a figure with bow and spear, sometimes but not always wearing the horned tiara of divinity: thus KARABEL (of Tarkasnawa king of Mira, Hawkins 1998b), HATİP (of Kuruntiya king of Tarhuntassa, Dinçol 1998a)—both contemporaries of Tudhaliya IV; İMAMKULU (of Kuwalanamuwa, also Storm-god—see Plate Ib), HANYERİ (of Kuwalanamuwa and another prince, also the god Sharruma), HEMITE (of ?). The west, besides KARABEL, has the two names attached probably at different times to the SIPYLOS/AKPINAR figure (Kuwalanamuwa, Zuwani), and now the extraordinary LATMOS inscriptions (Peschlow-Bindokat and Herbordt 2001). The MALKAYA graffiti are similar.

Comparable with these name + title epigraphs are a number of scribal inscriptions from Boğazköy, notably BOĞAZKÖY 8 ('Patisina' (Bentesina) and Samituli), also BOĞAZKÖY 14, 15, 22.

5.2.2 *Luwian character*

All the longer inscriptions are written in Luwian, as is shown by the presence of syllabically written words or noun and verb endings. These include EMİRGAZİ, YALBURT, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA, SÜDBURG, NİŞANTAŞ. Some of the shorter inscriptions may only indicate their Luwian reading with two or even one phonetic writings: FRAKTİN, ALEPPO 1, KINIK, KOCAOĞUZ. Yet others where the verb is written logographically lack any Luwian indication and could be read in Hittite: BOĞAZKÖY 1, 2.

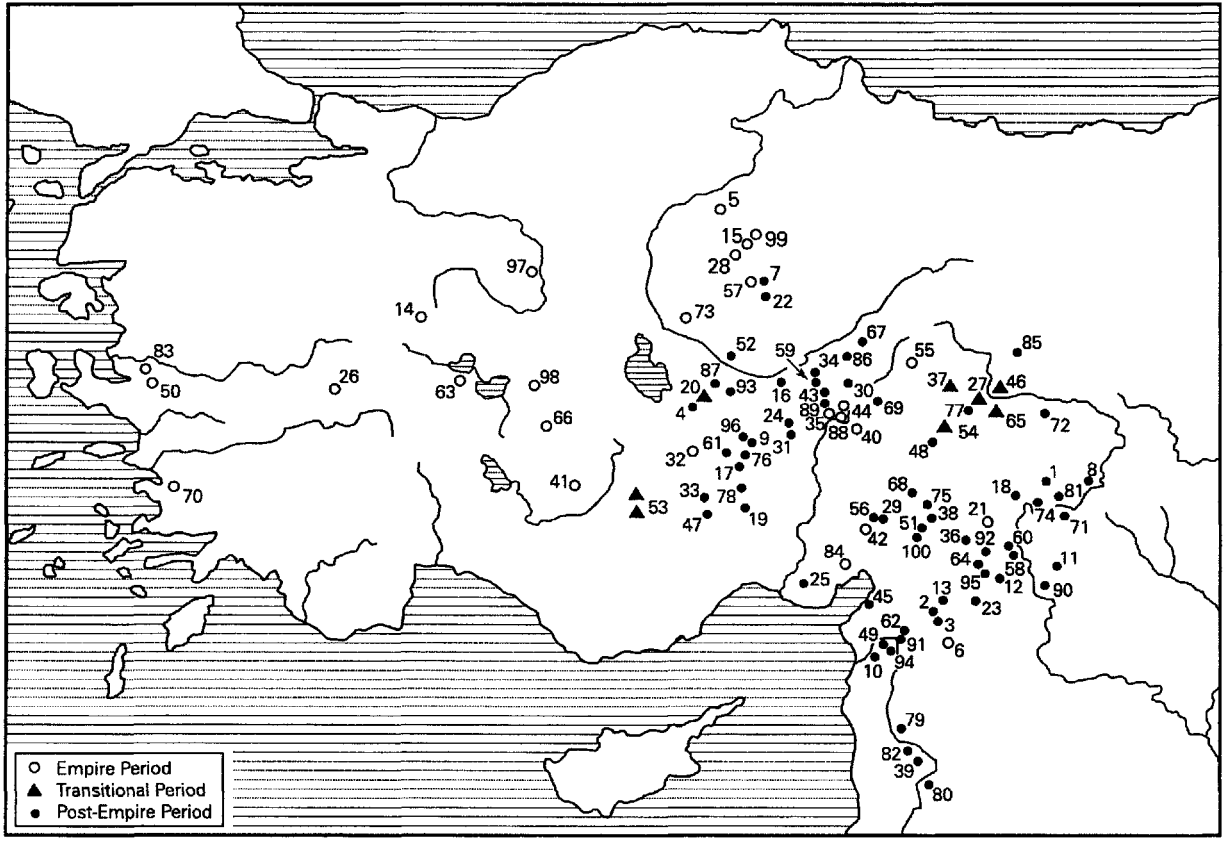
The other inscriptions, a numerical majority, being names and titles of men, also gods, are of uncertain status: the names, though possibly attributable *to* a language, are not *in* a language, and the titles are written logographically, thus may be read in any appropriate language, effectively Hittite and/or Luwian (thus 'great king', 'hero', 'prince', 'scribe', 'eunuch', 'servant', 'son', 'daughter', 'grandson' etc.). In this category fall SİRKELİ, KARABEL, HATİP, all BOĞAZKÖY Tudhaliya stelae, TAŞÇI, İMAMKULU, HANYERİ,

BOĞAZKÖY 12, SIPYLOS, LATMOS, and the BOĞAZKÖY scribal inscriptions, and apparently KARAKUYU.

To what extent should these be identified as Hieroglyphic Luwian, or indeed be included in a corpus of such inscriptions? In those inscriptions lacking any evidence for the language of reading, an attempt to draw a dividing line between Luwian and non-Luwian is likely to be arbitrary. It would be strange to exclude the western inscriptions, especially KARABEL, the work of a king of Mira. What of HATİP, the work of a king of Tarhuntassa, what of the Tudhaliya stelae from Boğazköy and the scribal inscriptions from the same site, what of the rock inscriptions attaching to the line of reliefs stretching through the Taurus passes from FRAKTİN to SİRKELİ? In the event the single Luwian words attested in FRAKTİN, KOCAOĞUZ and ALEPPO 1 will probably incline the balance to classifying all these as Luwian, together with the total absence on the other side of any evidence in favour of Hittite. In this context, we should however remember the Hieroglyphic epigraphs to the gods at YAZILIKAYA where all the phonetically written divine names seem to be Hurrian (Hebat, Shaushka, Astabi etc.), implying the Hurrian reading also for the logograms (Teshub, Shimegi, Kushuh etc.), and note especially the Hurrian phrase *tisupi hubiti*, 'bull-calf of Teshub', the sole example of the use of the Hieroglyphs for a language other than Luwian.

5.2.3. *Seals*

At this point a word must be said on seals—or rather their impressions from which they are mostly known to us. As noted above (sections 3.3, also 3.5), Empire royal seals have digraphic, Cun.-Hier. inscriptions while officials' seals are normally Hieroglyphic only. What was said above on the short Hieroglyphic stone inscriptions applies equally to seals: consisting as they do almost exclusively of names with logographically written titles, the seal inscriptions do not present us with any specific language (the seal of Kuzi-Teshub, below, section 5.2.5, is unique in bearing a syllabically written Luwian phrase), though doubtless they were read by their owners in their own language, one of several possible (Hittite, Luwian, Hurrian etc.). They are thus of no relevance to the study of Luwian as such, but they are of much relevance to the study and dating of the Hieroglyphic script as will be seen below, section 6.



Map 4: Locations of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions (H. C. Melchert)

Locations of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions

1. Adıyaman
2. Afrin
3. 'Ain Dara
4. Aksaray
5. Alacahöyük
6. Aleppo
7. Alişar
8. Ancoz
9. Andaval
10. Antakya
11. Arslantaş
12. Asmacık
13. 'Azaz
14. Beyköy
15. Boğazköy
16. Bohça
17. Bor
18. Boybeypınarı
19. Bulgarmaden
20. Burunkaya
21. Cağdin
22. Çalapverdi
23. Cekke
24. Çiftlik
25. Çineköy
26. Çivril
27. Darende
28. Delihasanli
29. Domuztepe
30. Eğrek
31. Eğriköy
32. Emirgazi
33. Ereğli
34. Erkilet
35. Fraktin
36. Gaziantep
37. Gürün
38. Hacibebekli
39. Hama
40. Hanyeri
41. Hatip
42. Hemite
43. Hisarcık
44. İmamkulu
45. İskenderun
46. İşpekçür
47. İvriz
48. Izgın
49. Jisr el Hadid
50. Karabel
51. Karaburçlu
52. Karaburun
53. Karadağ-Kızıldağ
54. Karahöyük
55. Karakuyu
56. Karatepe
57. Karga
58. Karkamiš
59. Kayseri
60. Kelekli
61. Keşlik Yayla
62. Kırçoğlu
63. Kocaoğuz
64. Körkün
65. Kötükale
66. Köylütolu Yayla
67. Kululu
68. Kürtül
69. Kurubel
70. Latmos
71. Lidar
72. Malatya
73. Malkaya
74. Malpınar
75. Maraş
76. Niğde
77. Palanga
78. Porsuk
79. Qal'at el Mudiq
80. Restan
81. Samsat
82. Sheizar-Meharde
83. Sipylos
84. Sirkeli
85. Şırzı
86. Sultanhan
87. Suvasa
88. Taşçı
89. Tekirderbent
90. Tell Ahmar
91. Tell Tayinat
92. Tilsevet
93. Topada
94. Tuleil
95. Tünp
96. Veliisa
97. Yağrı
98. Yalburt
99. Yazılıkaya
100. Zincirli

Figure 1

a.

b.

c.

d.

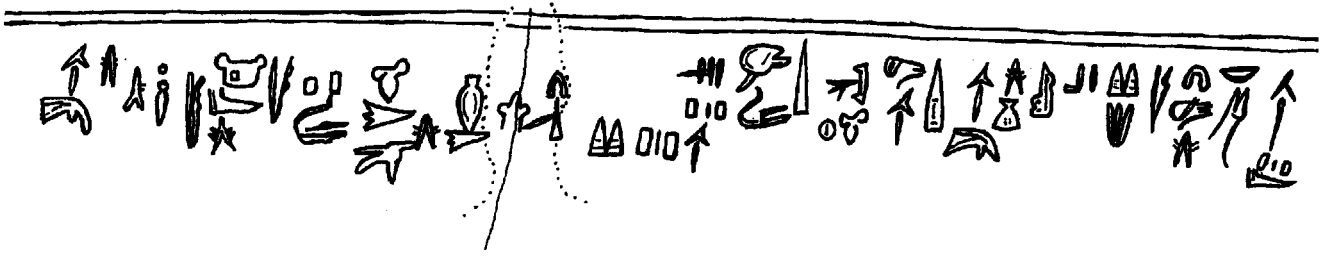


Figure 1

a. 'TARKONDEMOS' seal (drawing from Wright 1884 156). The silver seal is that of Tarkasnawa king of the land of Mira, a younger contemporary of Tudhaliya IV. The digraphic (Cuneiform-Hieroglyphic) inscription permitted the identification of the Hieroglyphic equivalents of Cuneiform LUGAL, 'king', and KUR, 'land'.

b. Impression of seal of Muwattalli II (drawing from Güterbock 1940 no. 38). Muwattalli was the first to introduce figure(s) into the centre along with the Hieroglyphic legend, and the seal-type with the god embracing the king is known as *Umarmungssiegel*. Only the inner ring of the Cuneiform legend is preserved.

c. Impression of seal of Kuzi-Teshub king of Carchemish, son of Talmi-Teshub who was hitherto the last known king (from Lidarhöyük, drawing from Hawkins 2000 pl. 328). The seal has an elaborate scene showing the Storm-god as at Yazılıkaya. The seal is unique in containing a phonetically written Luwian phrase, the epithet 'recognized by the gods'.

d. Legend engraved on the ANKARA silver bowl in largely syllabic Luwian (Hawkins 1997a 24). The dedication of the bowl is dated by reference to a victory of Tudhaliya *labarna*. Though the developed writing might suggest the identification as Tudhaliya IV, other factors may point to Tudhaliya I/II.

5.2.4. *Dating*

As noted above (section 5.2.1), all attributable stone inscriptions belong to the last three generations of the Hattusa dynasty, Muwattalli II to Suppiluliuma II, i.e. effectively the 13th century BCE. Nor are there any strong arguments for dating any of the non-attributable inscriptions any earlier.

The sole possible exception to this dating—yet if an exception, of immense significance—is the ANKARA silver bowl inscription (Hawkins 1997a; here Fig. 1d). The three-clause inscription dates the dedication of the object to the time of a Tudhaliya *labarna* and is written largely in syllabic Luwian. For this reason alone it would naturally be attributed to the time of Tudhaliya IV, yet strong arguments can be advanced for thinking that this should rather be Tudhaliya I/II, six generations earlier. That such an inscription might be written in Hieroglyphic at this date (ca. 1400 BCE) would have a revolutionary implication for our view of the origin of the script (see below, section 6.2.5), but it does not seem possible to exclude it.

5.2.5. *Empire-Late transition*

The fall of the Hittite Empire and the destruction of Hattusa (ca. 1200 BCE) terminated the Hittite Cuneiform tradition, including Cuneiform Luwian. The older perception was that after a dark age of some 300 years, the Neo-Hittite states of southeast Anatolia and north Syria revived, resurrecting the Empire traditions of architecture and monumental sculpture, and along with this the use of the Hieroglyphic script and Luwian language. Recent discoveries suggest that the earlier Neo-Hittite monuments should be dated back before ca. 900 BCE to the 10th and even 11th centuries, and point to a greater degree of continuity from the end of the Bronze Age than was previously believed.

Thus the discovery of impressions of the seal of Kuzi-Teshub (here Fig. 1c), king of Carchemish, son of Talmi-Teshub who was hitherto the last known king of the Empire dynasty of Carchemish (Sürenhagen 1986), added a fifth generation to this line descended from Suppiluliuma I. His subsequent identification in inscriptions of two different kings of the Neo-Hittite state of Malatya, where he is named as grandfather and entitled 'Great King, Hero' (GÜRÜN and İSPEKÇÜR, for which see Plate IIa), links the Empire dynasty of

Carchemish to the early Malatya sculpture, including indirectly the Lion Gate (Hawkins 1988, also 2002; and following section). No such continuity however has been discovered at the site of Carchemish itself where the recovered monuments seem to go back no further than ca. 1000 BCE. The title 'Great King' claimed by three rulers on the early Carchemish inscriptions probably reflects descent claimed from Kuzi-Teshub.

In Cilicia a newly discovered statue with inscribed base ÇİNEKÖY (bilingual Hieroglyphic-Phoenician, see Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000) reaffirms the claim of the ruling dynasty to be descended from Muksa (MPŠ), identified as the Mopsos of Greek legend (see Hawkins 1995c). This may well be a genuine link with the end of the Bronze Age, when the hero is related in Greek tradition to have migrated from western Anatolia, founding cities in Pamphylia and Cilicia.

On the Anatolian plateau, the information drawn from the Bronze Tablet treaty and the Hieroglyphic inscription YALBURT (both documents of Tudhaliya IV) serves to put in perspective the long known inscriptions of KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ (with BURUNKAYA), see Hawkins 1992. The author Hartapu, entitling himself 'Sun, Great King, Hero' (i.e. with the titulary of the Hattusa dynasty), seems likely to be a member of the dynasty of Tarhuntassa after the end of the Hittite Empire, or even before (Singer 1996a). It further seems that the claims of two 8th century kings of Tabal to this Hittite Empire titulary on the inscription TOPADA may be based on descent, real or imagined, from Hartapu over four centuries earlier.

Another notable inscription of transitional character is the KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan) stele, erected in honour of the local Storm-god by an official on the occasion of a visit by an otherwise unknown 'Great King' (Hawkins 1993). This must belong to the post-Empire period, and the Great King in question could belong either to the Anatolian or the Carchemish line, more probably the former.

5.2.6. *The Late corpus*

The inscriptions of the Neo-Hittite states ca. 1100-700 BCE are much more numerous and wide-ranging than those of the Empire period, and they have been recently collected and re-edited in *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, Volume I. *The Iron Age*, and Volume II. *Karatepe-Aslantaş*. Each of the states developed its own

epigraphic tradition, and their inscriptions may be grouped as the work of more or less datable rulers and dynasties. Since these have been repeatedly discussed, most recently in *CHLI* I, pp. 20-22, and in the presentation of the historical context of each of the regional chapters I-X, this information is only summarized here.

I. CILICIA. This kingdom Adana(wa) is represented mainly by the great KARATEPE bilingual in Hieroglyphic and Phoenician (see section 3.4), the work of a subordinate ruler Azatiwada, installed by Awariku king of Adana, and later apparently regent over Adana. Recently discovered and published is a smaller bilingual, ÇİNEKÖY, from near Adana (see preceding section), the work of Warika, identified with Awariku, probably also the Urikki king of Que (Plain Cilicia) named in the Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II (c. 738-709 BCE minimally). Azatiwada himself probably flourished in the reign of Sennacherib (705-681 BCE).

II. KARKAMIŠ (Carchemish). The main centre of Hittite civilization surviving the fall of the Hittite Empire with evidence of dynastic continuity, this imperfectly investigated site has not produced inscriptional evidence to fill the gap 1200-1000 BCE (see preceding section). The bulk of its inscriptions are associated with two dynastic lines; the house of Suhi, a four-generation line dating approximately to the 10th century BCE (see e.g. Plate IIIa) and connected in some way with the 'Great Kings' (Hawkins 1995d); and the house of Astiruwa, of at least three generations, ca. 800-717 BCE. There is also a number of inscriptions of private individuals, especially in the form of short epitaphs, which are less easy to date.

III. TELL AHMAR (ancient Masuwari, Assyrian Til-Barsip, later Kar-Shalmaneser). This small city state, some 20 km downstream from Carchemish on the opposite bank, has left sculpture and inscriptions very much under the influence of the Carchemish Suhi-Katuwa style, thus presumably dating also to the 10th century BCE. Dynastic narrative in one of the longer inscriptions (TELL AHMAR 1) suggests an alternation of power between two competing lines over some four generations. The names of the dynasts are not certainly attributable linguistically but could be Semitic and/or Hurrian. The most prominent ruler is Hamiyata, author of four stelae, three of which have appeared only recently, the latest TELL AHMAR 6 too late for

inclusion in *CHLI* I (see Hawkins, forthcoming), and he is further mentioned in three other inscriptions. A curious trilingual inscription in Assyrian Cuneiform, Hier. Luwian and Aramaic has recently been observed on the back of a portal lion slab (ARSLANTAŞ), apparently the work of an Assyrian provincial governor of the 8th century BCE.

IV. MARAŞ (ancient Gurgum, also (Assyrian) the city Marqas). Another city-state, notable for the seven-generation dynasty recorded on the Maraş Lion, the author of which, Halparuntiya III, and his grandfather and great-grandfather are known from Assyrian inscriptions which establish their dates, 805, 853 and 858 BCE respectively. Other members of the dynasty are attested in their own inscriptions, including (probably) Halparuntiya's father and great-great-great-great-grandfather, the founder of the dynasty. Other MARAŞ inscriptions are the work of individuals including a ruler's chief eunuch (MARAŞ 14). The environs of the modern city have produced a series of unusual funerary stelae, two of which are inscribed (MARAŞ 2 and 9).

V. MALATYA (ancient Malizi, Assyrian Milidia/Melid). The early inscriptions naming two rulers as grandsons of Kuzi-Teshub of Carchemish and continuing down to the grandson of one of these (GÜRÜN + KÖTÜKALE and İSPEKÇÜR + DARENDE) give a four-generation line which must fill the 12th century BCE (see previous section). The builder of the Lion Gate, portrayed and named on the reliefs (MALATYA 5-12), bears the same name as the son and great-grandson of Kuzi-Teshub and could be identified as either individual or a third of that name. The IZGIN stele from Elbistan together with the Lion Hunt (MALATYA 1) attests a further three generations more or less directly connected with the line of Kuzi-Teshub, and the Stag Hunt (MALATYA 3) a further two generations. These inscriptions and the associated sculpture must descend well into the 11th century BCE. A lonely rock inscription ŞIRZI names a further two generations of rulers, probably of the first half of the 8th century BCE.

VI. COMMAGENE (ancient Kummaha, Assyrian Kummuh). The capital of this kingdom, the site of Samsat (Assyrian 'the city Kummuh') yielded only fragments of inscriptions to excavation before being flooded, and most inscriptions come from the hill-top sanc-

tuary sites Boybepınarı and Ancoz. These are the work principally of the father-son pair Suppiluliuma and Hattusili, the former being probably the Ushpilulume named as an Assyrian client in the years 805 and 773 BCE. The inscriptions are dedications to the gods of Commagene, including a sacred mountain Hurtula, possibly Nimrud Dağ. The rock inscription MALPINAR is a memorial set up by a vassal of Hattusili for himself.

VII. AMUQ (Assyrian Unqi, also Patina). The inscriptions from Tell Tayinat (the probable capital of the plain of Antioch in the Iron Age) and its environs are poorly preserved, apparently as a result of deliberate destruction by the Assyrians. The dates are not precisely determinable, probably late 9th to early 8th centuries BCE. Miscellaneous pieces include a small statue with personal dedication (KIRÇOĞLU). The massive early Iron Age temple of 'Ain Dara, which may antedate the establishment of the Neo-Hittite state, has produced a fragment of an epigraph only.

VIII. ALEPPO (ancient Halab/Halpa). Under this heading are only three monuments, a stele and two stone bowls, found at Babylon, where they had been presumably taken as booty. They all share a dedication to the Storm-god of Aleppo, which is taken to indicate their original provenance.

IX. HAMA (ancient Hamath). A group of inscriptions from Hama and its environs is the work of a father-son pair Urhilina and Uratami, the former being identified with the Irhuleni named as an Assyrian opponent in the years 853-845 BCE. Urhilina's inscriptions concern the building and endowment of the city's temples, also the building of outlying cities: Uratami's the construction of the city's fortifications. An odd pair of archaic-looking stelae MEHARDE and SHEIZAR (from sites of those names) are memorial inscriptions for husband and wife.

X. TABAL. The transitional KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ inscriptions have been noted above (preceding section), dating to the early 12th or even late 13th centuries BCE. No further monuments are known from the area until the later 8th century BCE, when a northern group from Tabal proper (Assyrian Bit Burutash) and a southern group from Tyanitis (ancient Tuwana, Assyrian Tuhana) are distinguishable. The former are associated with a father-son pair, Tuwati and

Wasusarma, claiming the title 'Great King', and their servants, also lesser rulers and individuals. The claim to 'great kingship' has been suggested to connect with the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Tarhuntassa (see above, preceding section). Wasusarma is probably the Wassurme deposed by the Assyrians in 729 BCE. The southern group attach to Warpalawa of Tuwana, who is identified as the Urballa named in Assyrian sources for the period ca. 738-709 BCE. An inscription of his son Muwaharani would be one of the latest datable Hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Different styles of these Tabalian inscriptions are prominent. The most common northern style may be termed 'Kululu' from the site of that name, the most prolific source of inscriptions: a clear, incised linear script with 'cursive' sign-forms, as seen on the long SULTANHAN inscription and smaller KULULU stelae (Plate IIIb), also and significantly on the KULULU lead strips (Plate IIIc), as well as the ASSUR letters, the only surviving 'manuscript' documents of the corpus. A form of this style is also generally used in the Tuwana group. Other styles are represented only by isolated pieces: an ornate relief script with unusual syllabic values (KAYSERİ); and a bizarre incised style with even wilder values (TOPADA, SUVASA), apparently an attempt at archaism.

XI. ASSUR letters. Six letters incised on seven lead strips (four short, one long, one ultra-long) were excavated—surprisingly—at Assur, probably part of a correspondence of which the other end was Carchemish. Written like the KULULU lead strips, which are administrative documents, in the 'Kululu' style, these must also date to the late 8th century BCE, and with them they constitute the only known examples of an otherwise lost genre of practical documents.

XII. MISCELLANEOUS. A small, varied group of inscriptions, lacking evidence for provenance or associations with the main regional groups above.

XIII. SEALS (including impressions). A type of inscription curiously uncommon in the Iron Age compared with the large numbers known for the Late Bronze Age. The reason for the decline of evidence for seals is not obvious, but could be connected with the abandonment of clay in favour of perishable material(s) as the medium for writing.

6. *The Scripts*

6.1. *Cuneiform*

As noted above, section 2.1, the Hittites of Hattusa inaugurated their literacy by borrowing ready-made a script along with a cultural language, Cuneiform Akkadian, but also adapted the script for writing their own language. Later, but as now realized still early (16th century BCE), they began to write passages of Luwian incantations. The same adaptation of the Cuneiform script as had served for Hittite could have served as well for Luwian, and what may be said of the early use of the script probably applies equally to Hittite and Luwian. We must bear in mind that it was the same scribes writing both lots of texts, and while we have little positive evidence that the mother tongue of these experts was specifically Hittite, there is certainly no evidence that Luwian speakers wrote Cuneiform Luwian at any time anywhere.

Much progress has been made in recent years in dating Hittite texts from Old Kingdom through the Middle period to early and late Empire, in which the identification of the developing phases of the Cuneiform script plays a large part. This is achieved both through 'ductus', the shape and angle of the wedge impressions themselves, effectively distinguishing early from later 'handwritings'; and also through the recognition of early and later sign-forms. This then has been one of the tools applied to the dating of Luwian texts too, and has led to the realization that these go back much further than had been supposed. See especially Starke 1985 21-31.

The Cuneiform script employed signs in three main ways: (1) *logograms* (word-signs), conventionally and for convenience transcribed into (capitalized) Sumerian, the script's original language, thus LUGAL, 'king', LÚ, 'man', URU, 'city', UDU, 'sheep' etc.; (2) *determinatives*, common logograms placed before or after words marking them as belonging to a category as an aid to reading, thus ^{LÚ}X, 'man of such a profession/ethnic group', ^{URU}Y, '(the city) Y' (for a list see Neu and Rüster 1989 383f.); (3) *syllabograms* (syllable signs), permitting the phonetic writing of words, e.g. (Akkadian) ^{LÚ}*mu-un-na-ab-tu*, interpreted as ^{LÚ}*munnabtu*, 'fugitive'.

The Hattusa scribes in writing Luwian used logograms as in Hittite, but probably a much more limited repertoire: the list in Melchert 1993a 286-298 compiled from the indexed texts is doubt-

less representative if not comprehensive. Alternation of logograms with phonetic writings may give us the Luwian reading of the word, e.g. ŠEŠ ~ *na-a-ni(-ia)-*, 'brother'. But if this is not available, we may not know the word, e.g. EN, 'lord'; GEME, 'slave-girl'; GUŠKIN, 'gold'; KUR, 'land' are all of unknown reading, though in some cases the word may be confidently supplied from the Hieroglyphic equivalent, e.g. Cun. DUMU.MUNUS, 'daughter', Hier. *tuwatri-*.

The Cuneiform syllabary (system of syllable-signs) as borrowed by the Hittites consisted of five vowel signs *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, *ú*, and a set of syllabograms of consonant + vowel (CV) and vowel + consonant (VC) types in a three vowel *a/i/u* series, with an incomplete *e*-series. In addition to this a miscellaneous collection of consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC) signs was also used, each of which could replace a CV + VC writing, e.g. *ḫar* for *ḫa-ar*.

The basic CV + VC syllabary borrowed by the Hittites contained the following signs, transliterated as for Sumero-Akkadian (acute accent distinguishes a second common sign of the same reading, *ú*, *ḫé*, *úr*):

Basic Cuneiform CV/VC Syllabary borrowed by Hittites

vowels	*a*	*e*	*i*	*u*, *ú*
CV/VC	*ba/ab*	*-/-*	*bi/ib*	*bu/ub*
	da/ad	*-/-*	*di/id*	*du/ud*
	ga/ag	*-/-*	*gi/ig*	*gu/ug*
	ḫa/aḫ	*ḫé/-*	*ḫi/(=aḫ)*	*ḫu/(=aḫ)*
	ka/(=ag)	*-/-*	*ki/(=ig)*	*ku/(=ug)*
	la/al	*-/el*	*li/il*	*lu/ul*
	ma/am	*me/-*	*mi/im*	*mu/um*
	na/an	*ne/en*	*ni/in*	*nu/un*
	pa/(=ab)	*-/-*	*(=bi)/(=ib)*	*(=bu)/(=ub)*
	ra/ar	*-/-*	*ri/ir*	*ru/ur, úr*
	(*s*—see *z*)			
	ša/aš	*še/eš*	*ši/iš*	*šu/uš*
	ta/(=ad)	*te/-*	*ti/(=id)*	*tu/(=ud)*
	wa			
	ia (*ya*)			
	za/az	*-/-*	*zi/iz*	*zu/uz*

It will be noted that a system CV + VC (CVC) can only combine two consonants in internal intervocalic position, precluding the possibility of rendering two consonants initially or finally, or three consonants internally. Since these combinations are required by Hittite and Luwian, as by other Indo-European languages, the problem had to be circumvented by various graphic devices.

Of the syllabary as borrowed, it will be noted:

(1) A voiced/unvoiced distinction is generally available syllable-initial only, not syllable-final (and note only *ba, pa* as against *bi* = *pí*, *bu* = *pu*).
(2) Where the *e*-series is defective, the *i*-series stands in: thus *li-en* reads *len*; *li-in* reads *lin* but may also stand for *len*.
(3) The only *h*-sign represented is *ḫ*, which in Sumero-Akkadian stands for a velar fricative.
(4) At the time of the borrowing, an *s*-series of signs was not fully differentiated from the *z*-series, thus *za* = *za* and *sa* etc.

The phonology of Hittite as represented by this syllabary has been much discussed and is controversial at many points. It is clear that in Hittite usage Cun. *z* represents the double consonant *ts*, and probable that *s* is written with the *š*-series. Though the syllabary offers the distinction between voiced and unvoiced velars and dentals (in syllable-initial position only), these signs are not used consistently and seem to interchange arbitrarily; and for the labials *ba* is hardly used in Hittite orthography, leaving only undifferentiated *b/p* syllabograms. Also debated are the *e/i* and *u/ú* distinctions, and what Hittite phoneme(s) is/are represented by Cuneiform *ḫ*. The observed double writing of consonants in internal intervocalic position, and the *plene*-writing of vowels (*Ca-a* etc.) are recognized as significant, but the interpretations of these phenomena are not finally agreed upon.

Whether these observations on the use of the Cuneiform syllabary for Hittite apply equally to Luwian is not certain. While it is quite probable, since the same scribes were writing both, the question has not been thoroughly examined for Luwian, and the limited and defective nature of the corpus may not permit it. For what can be said on Luwian phonology, see Chapter Five, section B.

One further point should be noted on the transliteration/transcription of the Cuneiform script. It is important to distinguish between *transliteration*, the syllable-by-syllable rendering of Cuneiform, and

transcription, the interpretation of the word so written: thus e.g. transliterate *ša-al-li-iš*, transcribe *sallis* (*salli-*, 'great' + nom. sing. MF ending *-s*). The first correctly identifies each syllabogram (note that *ša* and *sa*, *iš* and *is* are different signs), while the second offers the supposed phonetic form of the word. A transcription *šalliš* conflates the two procedures and is incorrect, though it is a practice widely followed.

6.2. *Hieroglyphic*

The development of the script may be followed through the periods of the texts as outlined above, section 5.2: the late Empire (13th century BCE), the Empire-Late transition (12th-11th centuries) and the Late period (ca. 1000-700 BCE). Earlier phases will be discussed under Origins, section 6.2.6 below. In all of this latter consideration the crucial question of the date of the ANKARA silver bowl (see above, section 5.2.4) must constantly be borne in mind.

6.2.1. Empire script: external appearance

The normal way of executing monumental inscriptions was to leave the signs in relief by cutting away the background. Otherwise a less laborious technique of linear incision was used (TAŞÇI, DELİHASANLİ, KARGA, MALKAYA), or as a variant of this a kind of 'pecked' line (especially BOĞAZKÖY 8). The linear incised form is used for the few metal inscriptions known, especially the ANKARA and KINIK bowls. This suggests that it may represent a 'cursive', handwritten form, which might have been used on the wooden documents known to have existed (GIŠ.ḪUR = *gulzattar*, Starke 1990 457-464, note also ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR GIŠ, 'scribe on wood'), but never yet found. Indeed even on the monumental relief inscriptions some of the sign forms appear to have passed across from the cursive, e.g. notably the sign(s) *u/mu*. A similar monumental/cursive distinction is reflected also on seal inscriptions.

Stone inscriptions were normally written in horizontal lines separated by 'line-dividers' (horizontal relief rulings), and multiple-line texts ran *boustrophedon* (i.e. along to the end of line, turning back along the next, turning again and so continuing). Individual words were written vertically in the line with signs arranged in one or

more columns (a system which may leave in doubt the correct order of reading).

6.2.2. Empire script: internal characteristics

The signs can be classified, as already noted, section 3.1, and as in Cuneiform (section 6.1), as (1) *logograms*, standing for words, and in a specialized usage as (2) *determinatives*, and as (3) *syllabograms*, the assemblage of which forms the *syllabary*.

6.2.2.1. Logograms

The main problem is how to transcribe these in an acceptable international convention. If we always knew for certain the Luwian word(s) lying behind the sign, that could be used, but this is seldom the case. It has been generally agreed that transcription into Latin is the least bad option: see above on the colloquium on Procida and the publication Marazzi et al. 1998 (section 4). Signs for which no transcription can easily be found are referred to as L. + number (= Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphs hittites*, no. ...).

Empire logograms may interestingly be compared with those of the Late period (below, section 6.2.5.1), grouping as:

(1) Those easily recognizable as forerunners, used in the same way, including ANNUS, AVUS, CAELUM, CAPERE, $CERVUS_2$, DARE, DELERE, DEUS, DOMINA, DOMINUS, DOMUS, EGO, EXERCITUS, INFANS, MAGNUS, MONS, PES, PES_2, PONERE, POST, PRAE, REGIO, REL, REX, SCRIBA, SOL, SOLIUM, STELE, TERRA, TONITRUS, URBS.

(2) Those less immediately identifiable with their descendants, including AEDIFICARE, BOS, FEMINA, FILIA, FINES, FRONS, OVIS, PORTA, SERVUS, SUPER.

(3) Those in use in Empire and transitional periods not found in the Late period, including ENSIS, POCULUM, LINGUA + CLAVUS, L.67, L.122, L. 137, L.202, L.398, L.430, L.469; also the signs listed *CHLI* I/1, p. 24, Table 1, *502-*521. (* + number: new numbers for signs not in Laroche).

Figure 2

LIBARE 27		MONS 207		POST 34		STATUA 12	
LIGARE 31		MORI 386+381		PRAE 14		STELE 267	
LIGNUM 382		NEG_1 332		PUGNUS 39–40		SUB	see INFRA
LINGERE 112		NEG_2 332		PUGNUS + PUGNUS	see LIGARE	SUPER 70	
LINGUA 175		NEPOS 300+488		PURUS 322		TERRA 201	
LIS 24		OCCIDENS 379		[REGINA]	see MAGNUS DOMINA	THRONUS	see MENSA
LITUUS 378		OCULUS 25		REGIO 228		$THRONUS_2$ 298	
LOCUS	see TERRA	OMNIS 366		REL 329		TONITRUS 199	
LONGUS 62		ORIENS 192		REX 17		UNUS 380	
LOQUI 22		OVIS 111		SACERDOS 355		URBS 225	
LUNA 193		PANIS 181		SCALPRUM 268		URCEUS 345	
MAGNUS 363		PES 90		SCRIBA 326		VACUUS 245	
MALLEUS 280		PES. SCALA ROTAE 91/92/94		SCUTELLA 402		VAS 341	
MALUS 368		PES_2 93		SCUTUM 272		VERSUS 447.26	
$MALUS_2$ 368		PISCIS 138		SERVUS 387		VIA 221	
MANUS 59–60		PITHOS 337		SIGILLUM 327		VIR 313	
MATER 79	see FEMINA	POCULUM 346		SOL 191		VIR_2 386	
MENSA 294		PODIUM 264		SOL_2 190		VITELLUS 109	
MILLE 400		PONERE 65		SOLIUM 299		VITIS 160	
MINUS 381		PORTA 237–238		SPHINX 121			

6.2.2.2. Determinatives

As used in Cuneiform, these may be defined as common logograms placed before or after nouns marking them as belonging to a designated class of object as an aid to reading. Their appearance in Hieroglyphic has been cited as a possible instance of the influence of Cuneiform on the development of the Hierglyphic script (see below, section 6.2.6, Origin).

Only a few of the determinatives found in the Late period are attested in Empire inscriptions. They include (Cuneiform equivalents in brackets):

DEUS (DINGIR), MONS (HUR.SAG), SCALPRUM (NA_4), placed before divine and mountain names, objects of stone.

REGIO (KUR), URBS (URU), placed after country and city names.

For further discussion, see below, section 6.2.5.2 (Late script: internal characteristics, determinatives).

6.2.2.3. Syllabograms

In contrast with the Cuneiform syllabary of CV + VC and CVC syllabograms, Hieroglyphic, besides its four vowel signs *a*, *á* (initial only), *i*, *u*, has syllabograms only of the CV type, together with some miscellaneous CVCV signs. The most important aspect of the Empire syllabary is its comparison with the Late syllabary to determine how fully developed it was, and to identify the main innovations of the Late period.

The most obvious gap between the empire (and transitional) syllabary and the Late is the early undifferentiated *zi/a* and *i(a)* as against the later doublets *zi/za* and *i/ia*, differentiated by the subscript *a*, and the parallel NEG as against NEG_2/NEG_3: see above, section 3.7. (Note an Empire forerunner of the differentiation *zi/a+a* for *za*, *CHLI* I/1, 15[154].) A recent observation that in digraphic writings Empire L.416 (forerunner of L.319 Late ta_4) and L.172 ta_5 correspond to Cuneiform *la* and *li* is currently under investigation: cf. Chapter Five, section B.2.1.

Otherwise a survey of the main Empire inscriptions showing syllabic writings (EMİRGAZİ altars and base, YALBURT, SÜDBURG, also KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA) harvests a syllabary hardly less than the regular Late syllabary (*CHLI* I/1 29 Table 3; here Figure 3, p. 164): unattested are only the signs *há*, *hu*, *ki*, *nu*, *sá*, sa_4, and *zu*.

Of these the pair *sá*, sa_4 seem to be Late only, while *há*, probably originating acrophonically from the logogram *HATTI*, does not seem to be used as a syllabogram until the post-Empire KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ (PN ***Ha**rtapu*). The others are all adequately represented on Empire seals of the 14th-13th centuries BCE. For syllabograms used in the Nişantepe seal archive, see Hawkins apud Herbordt forthcoming. For minimum dates for the introduction of individual syllabograms, see Hawkins 1997a 16f.

6.2.3. Peculiar graphic practice: 'initial-*a*-final'

A peculiar feature of Hieroglyphic writings of personal names has been observed, namely the placing of the tall *a*-sign when initial behind rather than in front of the other signs. It was first noted by Laroche (1956 136[7]) on ALEPPO 1, where *ki-TEŠUB-pa-a* represents *Aki-Tešub*. Many more such examples have appeared with the digraphic Meskene seals, noted initially by Laroche (1983 15 figs. 4, 5; 17 fig. 7; 21 fig. 13), where *ma-zi/a-hi-a*, *pu-nú-a*, *pa-ti-li-a* represent *Amzahi*, *Abunnu*, *Abdili*. The Nişantepe seal archive has produced *sa-mi-SARMA-a* and *sa-mu-ha-pa-a* for *Asmi-Šarruma* and *Asmu-Hepa* (Hawkins apud Herbordt, forthcoming nos. 11, 75). The names noted are both Hurrian and West Semitic. Nişantepe also has *wa/i-na-mi-a*, to be read *Awanami* (?) (Herbordt no. 50), which looks to be possibly Luwian. Although plene writings of final *-a* are to be found on Nişantepe seals, these are written *below* a final syllable in *-Ca*, not full length *behind* the group of name signs. In the names cited the final *-a* can have no function, especially following C*i* or C*u*. We therefore recognize this as a graphic peculiarity.

Examination of Empire period texts now suggests that the same phenomenon may occur here too. In the writings of the connective particles the EMİRGAZİ altars text always writes *wa/i*-X-*a*, where YALBURT tends to write *a-wa/i*-X. Compare:

EMİRGAZİ altars	YALBURT
wa/i-tá-a (§§4, 20)	*a-wa/i-tá* (14,§4)
wa/i-tà-a (§28)	*a-wa/i-tà* (7,§2a)
wa/i-na-a (§§14, 29)	
wa/i-ti-i(a)-a (§15)	
wa/i-ti-i(a)-na-a (§35)	
wa/i-ti-ta-a (§6)	
wa/i-tu-a (§37)	
wa/i-tu-ta-a (§26)	
EMİRGAZİ block	
wa/i-mu-a (B,l.2)	*a-wa/i-mu* (6,§2; 11,§4a; 12,§§3,4; 13,§4a; 14,§5; 15,§2)
	wa/i-mu-a (2,§§2,3)
	a-wa/i-mi (11,§2; 13,§1; 16,§2a)
	wa/i-mi-a (10,§2)
	a-wa/i-mi-tá (14,§2)

Thus YALBURT shows that the writing *wa/i*-X-*a* is simply a variant of *a-wa-i*-X. As in the personal names cited, a final *-a* would have no function, especially after *-mi*, *-mu*, and *-tu*. On the other hand initially it does have a very clear function, namely as the equivalent of Cun. Luwian *a-*, the connective particle. Note also:

EMİRGAZİ altars	YALBURT
mi-sa-a = *amis*, 'my' (§4)	*a-mi-zi/a* = *aminzi*, 'my' (4,§2; 11,§4a)
	mu-pa-wa/i-a = *amu-pa-wa* 'but me' (4,§3)
pa-sa-a = *apas*, 'that' (§§6, 12)	
sa-tu-a = *asatu*, 'let him be' (§§17, 21)	*a-sa-ta* = *asa(n)ta,* 'was/were' (3,§1)
pa-na-a = *apan*, 'back' (§22)	
pa+ra/i-a = *apari*, 'afterwards' (§2)	
EMİRGAZİ block	
mi-sa-a = *amis*, 'my' (nom. sing. MF, A,l.1; B,l.2)	
a-mi = *ami*, 'my' (dat. sing.?, A,l.3, B,l.5)	

Examination of the EMİRGAZİ postposed *a* suggests:

(1) That in all clear cases it functions as initial *a-*, either the connective particle or otherwise as a first syllable.
(2) In no clear case is it absent where expected. EMİRGAZİ §12, *wa/i-ta*, is in itself problematic on more than one count (preceding *sa*, discrepancy between the parallel texts). It thus seems clear that EMİRGAZİ does not in fact show examples of aphaeresis of initial *a-*.
(3) It is never present where it would not be expected, i.e. following enclitic connectives *-wa*(-) (EMİRGAZİ altars, §§9, 31, 32), *-hawa*(-) (EMİRGAZİ altars, §§3, 7, 10), *-pawa*(-) (EMİRGAZİ altars, §§13, 16, 19, 24, 25, 27, 33a, 34, 36; YALBURT, 3,§2; 4,§§2, 3), or in any other clearly functionless position. Note that EMİRGAZİ altars, §18, AVIS$_2$-*na-wa/i-a* (or *-wa/i-na-a*) is of completely unclear analysis.

YALBURT on the other hand probably does have examples of final *-a* plene; NEG-*a* (4,§2); URBS+MI-*a* (2,§2, dat. sing.); *á-wa/i+ra/i-na-a* (REGIO) (13,§3, dat. sing.). But what is POST-*a* (2§2)? Note the interesting *mu-pa-wa/i-a* for *amu-*... .

For the purpose of transliteration, I propose to render 'initial-*a*-final' as **a-*: thus the examples cited will appear as **a-wa/i-tá/tà*, **a-wa/i-na*, **a-mi-sa*, **a-pa-sa*, **a-sa-tu*, **a-pa-na*, **a-mu-pa-wa/i*, etc.

To what extent these observations based on limited Empire period observations may apply in the Late period has yet to be investigated, and will be a very complicated enquiry, probably without any clear-cut conclusion.

6.2.4. Late script: external appearance

The division between monumental relief and linear incised inscriptions becomes much more marked in the Late period, but is not an early vs. late feature, since some of the earliest inscriptions are linear incised. The grander and more monumental inscriptions from Carchemish (see e.g. Plate IIIa) and almost all those from Tell Ahmar, Maraş, Commagene, Amuq and Hama are in relief. The preponderance of incised inscriptions from Tabal with the distinctive 'Kululu' style associated with the cursive handwriting of the documents on lead has been noted (above section 5.2.6, X. TABAL, XI. ASSUR letters—see Plate IIIb,c).

While however we may distinguish 'monumental' and 'cursive' sign-forms, often unrecognizably different from each other especially in the case of e.g. the animal heads, these do not appear consistently in the relief and incised inscriptions respectively: thus we find cursive sign forms intruding into relief inscriptions and vice versa. The same phenomenon may be at work in the Empire inscriptions, though there it is difficult to judge since we have so few incised inscriptions to represent a lost handwriting.

The practice of arranging the inscriptions in horizontal lines read boustrophedon with words in vertical columns continues from the Empire period. A word-divider (the sign ⟨) to mark the beginning of a new word is used in this period with greater or less consistency according to the individual inscription.

6.2.5. Late script: internal characteristics

The system continues largely unchanged from the Empire period except for a few modifications (differentiation of *zi/za* and *i/ia*, also NEG_2/NEG_3). It remains a mixed logographic-syllabic script.

6.2.5.1. Logograms

As noted above (under Empire) a system of transcribing these into Latin has been adopted for over 150 items (*CHLI* I/1, 26-27; here Figure 2, p. 157). A further 75 items cannot be so rendered and are identified only by L(aroche)-number. Of the Latin-transcribed logograms, over half can be traced back to Empire forerunners, the rest being not yet Empire-attested. Some examples suggest that logograms were created according to need on an ad hoc basis: e.g. PROPHETA (TELL AHMAR 5, §11); *522 to represent the stone bowl on which it was inscribed (II.25a).

A number of logograms are also used with syllabic values which are obviously derived by acrophony or rebus (^{E} denotes already in Empire, (E) Empire only), e.g.:

ká (E), *ná*, *pari*^{E}, *pi*^{E}, *rú*, *sari*^{E}, sa_5^{E}, *sú*, *ta*^{E}, *tà*^{E}, ta_6, *u*^{E}, *wà/i*^{E}, *wi* (E)

Note also the signs REL (*kwi/a*) and CURRERE (*hwi*) which should probably be regarded as logograms, at least in origin, and are used as syllabograms with attestations already in the Empire period. The relationship of other syllabic values to the corresponding logograms may be unexplained, notably PES, 'foot', syllabic *ti*.

Logogram markers. Two signs used to mark logograms have been identified: (1) › ‹, placed under the sign to mark it as a logogram, represented in transcription as inverted commas around logogram transcription; (2) ⁘ marks animal-head signs as logograms for that animal, not syllabograms, transcribed ANIMAL (possibly it might represent the breath of the animal, i.e. that it is the living beast).

6.2.5.2. Determinatives

Cf. above Empire, where determinatives were defined, and their restricted number of Empire attestations noted, as well as the more widespread use found in the Late period. Here in fact it is somewhat more difficult to distinguish between actual determinatives and logograms with more than one reading, especially given the Late Hieroglyphic practice, unusual in Cuneiform, of following a logogram with a full phonetic writing, e.g. ('OVIS.ANIMAL') *ha-wa/i-*, 'sheep'; ('ANNUS') *u-si-*, 'year'.

The following continue in use from the Empire period: DEUS, MONS, SCALPRUM, REGIO, URBS.

The following, not found earlier, may be classified as determinatives:

BONUS	determines	'good' words
DOMUS		parts of houses
FLUMEN		river names
HORDEUM		cereals
LIGNUM		(1) (trees) wooden objects
		(2) words of authority
PANIS		foods
VAS		parts of the body[5]
VITIS		parts and products of the vine

The following 'determine' verbs, a development not found in Cuneiform:

LITUUS and OCULUS	verbs of perception
LOQUI	verbs of speaking
MANUS	verbs of manual action
PES and PES_2	verbs of going
PUGNUS	'strong' words (?)

The following unidentified signs seem to determine groups of words in unexplained ways: L.255/56, L.273, L.274, L.314.

[5] VAS here = 'heart', thus COR, as per van den Hout 2002.

Figure 3

(450)	*a*	(209)	*i*	(105)	*u*
(19)	*á*				
(215)	*ha*	(413)	*hi*	(307)	*hu*
(196)	*há*				
(434)	*ka*	(446)	*ki*	(423)	*ku*
(176)	*la*	(278)	*li*		
				(445)	*la/i/u*
(110)	*ma*	(391)	*mi*	(107)	*mu*
(35)	*na*	(411)	*ni*	(153)	*nu*
		(214)	*ní*	(214)	*nú*
(334)	*pa*	(66)	*pi*	(328)	*pu*
(383)	*ra/i*			(412)	*ru*
(415)	*sa*	(174)	*si*	(370)	*su*
(433)	*sá*				
(104)	*sà*				
(402)	sa_4				
(327)	sa_5				
(100)	*ta*	(90)	*ti*	(89)	*tu*
(29)	*tá*			(325)	
(41)	*tà*				
(319)	ta_4				
(172)	ta_5				
(439)	*wa/i*				
(210)	*ia*				
(377)	*za*	(376)	*zi*	(432)	zu^2
(329)	*kwi/a*				
	kwi/a				

6.2.5.3. Syllabograms

The Late syllabograms have been divided into the *Regular Syllabary* (*CHLI* I/1 p. 29, Table 3, with comments pp.28, 30-31), and *alternative syllabograms* (p. 32, Table 4, with comments pp. 31, 33). As there noted, the alternative syllabograms appear only intermittently across the Late corpus, being concentrated in the idiosyncratic (archaizing?) late Late inscriptions, TOPADA with SUVASA, and KARATEPE.

Main features of the Regular Syllabary:

(1) Vowels *a*, *i*, *u* with syllabograms largely of CV type in *a/i/u*-vocalized series.
(2) No voiced/unvoiced distinction, represented consonants being *h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *w*, (*y*), *z*.
(3) Occasional common doublets *a/á* (latter initial only), *ha/há*, *ni/ní*, *nu/nú*.
(4) Empire-descended *lu* used for *la* and *li* too, thus transliterated *la/i/u*.
(5) Dual vocalized *w* and *r* syllabograms transliterated *wa/i* and *ra/i*.
(6) 'Enclitic' character of *ra/i*, which does not stand alone, only attached to other signs; this clearly originates from the fact that no Hittite-Luwian word originally began with *r*-. Also connected is the practice of writing *a*+*ra/i*, *i*+*ra/i* both for inititial *ar*-, *ir*- and final -*ra*, -*ri*.
(7) Five common variants in the *sa*-series, *sa*, *sà*, and sa_5 being Empire-descended, *sá* and sa_4 known only Late. Is there, or was there originally, any distinction(s) represented?
(8) Five common variants in the *ta*-series, dividing into groups *ta*, *tá*, *tà*, and ta_4, ta_5, interchangeable only within the groups. Evidence is accumulating for the original (Empire) distinction of ta_4, ta_5, but remains to be fully investigated and formulated (see also Chapter Five, section B.2.1).
(9) Miscellaneous group of CVCV signs involving final -*ra/i*, including *tara/i*, *ara/i*, *hara/i*, *kar* (all Empire-descended); also *la*+*ra/i*+*a* (*lara*) and IUDEX+*ra/i* (*tara*); and the newly recognized $mara/i^{(+ra/i)}$ (formerly read *pá*? (+*ra/i*), see *CHLI* I/1 36f. Appendix 3). In this context note also the Empire-descended *pari*.

Late alternative syllabograms: little need be added to *CHLI* I/1 31-33, except as regards the values *sú*, *sù* (for which see also *CHLI* I/1 35f., Appendix 2). The value *sù* has been reinterpreted as *zú*, which remains under discussion.

6.2.6. Origins

The earliest Hieroglyphic inscriptions on stone are probably not significantly older than 1300 BCE (above, section 5.2.1), though in the question of the dates and thus the origins of the script the problem of the ANKARA silver bowl must always be borne in mind (beginning of 14th or late 13th century BCE?—see above, section 5.2.4).

Dated (i.e. principally royal) seals with Hieroglyphic inscriptions, specifically the digraphic Cuneiform-Hieroglyphic tradition at Hattusa, goes back to Tudhaliya I/II, an impression of whose seal was recently found (Otten apud Seeher 2000). This, by adding the Hieroglyphic digraph of the name in the centre, was the first seal to break with the Middle Kingdom tradition of Cuneiform-inscribed named Tabarna seals extending from Alluwamna to Muwattalli I, a tradition which on occasion added to the central rosette the Hieroglyphs $BONUS_2$, 'good', and VITA, 'life', or their Cuneiform equivalents SIG_4 and TI. An isolated impression from Tarsus shows the seal of Isputahsu, identified as the king of Kizzuwatna contemporary of Telipinu, thus late Old Kingdom (Goetze 1940 73), on which the central Hieroglyphs TONITRUS.REX are flanked with VITA and $BONUS_2$, but it is not clear whether this corresponds digraphically to the Cuneiform legend, and if so, how.

The Nişantepe archive of sealed bullae contains besides impressions of multiple seals of every king from Suppiluliuma I to Suppiluliuma II (thus mid-14th to end of 13th centuries BCE) impressions of the Hieroglyphic-inscribed seals of officials covering the same period (Herbordt forthcoming). It is clear that this tradition of Hieroglyphic seal inscriptions of officials extends back to the Hittite Old Kingdom (late 17th century BCE). These seals lack the clear-cut chronology of association with kings' names, but stratified examples from *Büyükkale* and the *Unterstadt* permit the construction of a chronology to take in unprovenanced seals and impressions (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987).

For the Old and Middle Kingdoms (ca. 1650-1450 BCE, *Büyükkale* levels IVc-b, *Unterstadt* 3-2) we have stamp seals with ornate

outer rings decorated with guilloches etc., surrounding inner circles with Hieroglyphic inscriptions, normally names rendered with one or more signs, accompanied by the signs SCRIBA, 'scribe' and/or $BONUS_2$ and VITA. These characterize the seals as those of scribes, with added blessings. The Hieroglyphic names are usually difficult to read even if the signs can be identified with later forms. Mora (1991, 1994) considers that these 'proto-Hieroglyphs' had not yet been formed into the regular script as found from ca. 1400 BCE onwards. (But note that since she wrote, evidence for an established script in the time of Tudhaliya I/II has appeared in the form of his seal, also possibly the ANKARA silver bowl.) Mora also considers the question of links between the early Boğazköy repertoire of signs from seals and that from Karahöyük-Konya belonging to the preceding period, and she concludes that while direct links are lacking, the two repertoires may represent parallel systems. In this context we should note the possible glyptic links between Karahöyük and Phaestos via Miletos in the early second millennium BCE (Niemeier 1999 148).

In the quest for the origin of the Hieroglyphic script, clearly we can follow a continuous tradition back from the stone inscriptions of the 13th century BCE, through the royal seals of the 13th and 14th centuries and the official seals of the 13th to 16th centuries. But we must remember the impossibility of characterizing any Hieroglyphs earlier than ca. 1300 BCE as specifically Luwian (except the ANKARA silver bowl, if it dates to ca. 1400). What are the implications of the Luwian character of the script as recognizable from the 13th (or 14th) centuries BCE?

In spite of this comparatively late emergence of this Luwian character, it is still difficult to disagree with Güterbock (1956a 518) in answering the question: 'von wem und für welche Sprache wurde die Bilderschrift entwickelt?' with 'von den Luwiern, für das Luwische, in luwischen Landen'. The problem here is an almost total lack of evidence outside Boğazköy, at least from Luwian west Anatolia. It may be that Kizzuwatna-Cilicia with its known Luwian presence would be a more promising source to investigate. The mostly Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Tarsus bullae (Goldman 1956 pls. 401-408) belong generally to the Hittite imperial administraion, including 13th century seals of Queen Puduhepa and prince Sahurunuwa, but do include a few Old and Middle Kingdom impressions such as an

anonymous Tabarna seal on a land donation and the seal of Isputahsu already noted.

Internal evidence might be sought from the script itself, specifically the origin of the syllabograms. Here one may say that recognizable derivations of syllabic values indicate a Hittite-Luwian origin, but provide no diagnostic distinction between the two languages except in one sole case: the derivation of the syllabogram *u* from Luwian **uwau-*, 'ox', as against the postulated Hittite form **guwau-* (Neumann 1992 25[1], cf. 39).

Laroche (1975, especially §5) emphasized the origin of the Anatolian Hieroglyphs in Anatolia, 'crées sur place par un peuple parlant une langue du groupe anatolien'. While this is obviously correct, I have in the past advocated an Aegean connection as an external influence leading to the local formation of the script (Hawkins 1986 374), on the grounds of:

(1) The parallel development of the Cretan Hieroglyphic-Linear scripts and the Anatolian Hieroglyphs from signs, possibly symbolic rather than graphic, on seals leading to the formation of writing systems with logograms and syllabaries.
(2) A similar range and type of logograms in both scripts.
(3) Syllabaries of syllables of CV type as against the Cuneiform CV + VC/CVC type.

The time range is somewhat earlier in Crete, ca. 1900 BCE onwards, a period of visible Egyptian cultural influence, as against Anatolia ca. 1600 BCE onwards.

Against this view Neumann (1992 26f. and n. 5) considered that Cretan could hardly have been the 'Vorbild oder Anreger' for Anatolian Hieroglyphs on account of: (1) its five-vowel *a/e/i/o/u* system as against the Anatolian three-vowel *a/i/u* system; and (2) Cretan's lack of determinatives as against their presence in Anatolian. These two features might well be attributed to the influence of contemporary Cuneiform on the formation of Hieroglyphic, but the former script could hardly have served as a model, Neuman's 'Vorbild' (contra Mora 1994 215). But if we reject as we probably should the idea of an external 'Vorbild', we are not necessarily obliged to reject also an 'Anreger', and here it still seems to me that the Aegean has the edge over the Syro-Mesopotamian world of Cuneiform. For a Luwian site of origin it might be preferable to think of Cilicia, where there is

evidence of developments contemporary with those of Boğazköy rather than the Arzawan west which lack it, and Cilicia should have been as open to Aegean influences as for example western Anatolia through Miletos. Cilicia however must have been in close contact with the 'Cuneiform' world of north Syria (Aleppo, Alalah etc.) since the early second millennium BCE, and the same question as Güterbock (1956) asked of Hattusa would apply: why if you are already familiar with Cuneiform invent a script like Hieroglyphic? An area of origin unacquainted with Cuneiform is perhaps more likely, which would take us back to the west. Further evidence may be expected—or hoped for—from Miletos or another such site.

CHAPTER FIVE

LANGUAGE

H. CRAIG MELCHERT

A. FORMS OF LUWIAN

1. *Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian*

Already Forrer (1919 and 1922 215-223) and Hrozný (1920 39) recognized Luwian as a language distinct from but related to Hittite, attested in passages in the cuneiform texts from Hattusa. The identification as Luwian was assured by the use of the adverb *luwili* 'in Luwian' to introduce some passages. By the early thirties it was also understood that the language of the so-called 'Hittite' hieroglyphs was more closely related to the Luwian of the cuneiform texts than to Hittite (Meriggi 1932 10 & 42ff; Hrozný 1933 77ff).

Forrer (1922 215) had also already identified individual Luwian words appearing in Hittite context, often but not always marked with the so-called 'Glossenkeil' (˹ or ˺). Sommer (1932 58, 108 and passim) also took for granted that such words were to be assigned to the same language as that of the extended Luwian passages in cuneiform. Bossert (1944 107ff) challenged this claim, insisting that such words might instead belong to the language of the hieroglyphs or even to another third language. The opposing view prevailed, and Rosenkranz (1978 6) could declare the issue settled: with vanishingly rare exceptions the 'Glossenkeilwörter' and similar forms in Hittite context were Luwian (see also Rosenkranz 1952 18-26).

However, as described in Chapter Four above, new discoveries and further research following the Second World War showed that the language of the hieroglyphs is a form of Luwian that differs from that in cuneiform in only a few features. This fact allows a unified description of the language (what follows may be taken to apply to all forms of Luwian unless stated otherwise), but it renews the

question of the status of the Luwianisms in Hittite context and of the nature of the Luwian texts in cuneiform themselves.

It has become common practice to refer to Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian as two 'dialects' of Luwian. However, the precise relationship of the forms of the language attested in the respective writing systems remains very much an open question. There are several aspects to this complex problem. First, are there enough significant differences in the various forms of Luwian to justify the notion of distinct 'dialects'? Second, if dialects exist, just how many? Third, what is the spatial and temporal relationship between the putative different dialects?

Carruba (1998 270) has challenged the notion that there is sufficient evidence to justify referring to Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian as distinct dialects. While the differences between the two are relatively few, there are in fact enough to uphold the distinction. One significant phonological difference is that only HLuwian shows 'rhotacism' of voiced dental stops, as described in section B.2.1 (on the famous exception *tiwariya-* see immediately below).

Other distinctive features are found in nominal, pronominal, and verbal inflection. CLuwian has lost the genitive case,[1] employing only an inflected 'relational' adjective in *-aššа/ī-* in its place: *tiyammaššiš* ^{d}UTU-*za* 'earthly Sun-deity' vs. Hittite *taknaš* ^{d}UTU-*uš* 'Sun-deity of earth' (see Laroche 1959 136). HLuwian also makes heavy use of the adjectival construction, but it still retains the genitive case of the noun, sometimes combining the two in a remarkable fashion (see section D.3). Confirmation that loss of the genitive is a genuine innovation of CLuwian comes from a further development. Use of the relational adjective does not permit indication of the number of the possessor. To remedy this situation, CLuwian created special forms of the relational adjective in *-anzaššа-* that do mark plural of the underlying possessive noun (see section C.1.4 and Melchert 2000a 173-179). The appearance of these forms *only* in CLuwian and the absence of the nominal genitive there cannot be coincidental. The second difference in nominal inflection is that HLuwian has merged the animate nominative and accusative plural, using the nominative ending /-ntsi/ for both. CLuwian retains the contrast.

[1] Our CLuwian texts are too extensive for the absence of an inflected genitive to be due merely to chance.

In CLuwian the first and second plural personal pronouns are *ānza(š)* and *ūnza(š)* respectively, while the corresponding HLuwian forms *á-zu-za* (/antsunts/) and *u-zu-za* (/untsunts/) show a different ending. In the third person enclitic pronouns CLuwian distinguishes animate accusative plural *-aš* from animate nominative plural *-ata*, while HLuwian has generalized the latter (Melchert 2000a 179-182). The third plural dative pronoun is *-mmaš* in CLuwian but /-mmants/ in HLuwian. CLuwian shows only *-ḫ(ḫ)a* for the preterite first singular verbal ending, but HLuwian has /-han/ competing with /-ha/ (see section C.3.1 with references). There are also differences in the use of conjunctions. Only CLuwian has sentence-initial *pā* (see D.10 on its use).

The differences just cited are truly minimal, but they cannot be ignored or brushed aside. Note that most of the innovations lie in HLuwian, but at least two occur in CLuwian. The latter fact precludes an account of the differences purely in chronological terms: CLuwian cannot be merely an older stage of the same dialect reflected in HLuwian.

Current evidence provides no basis for any geographical or chronological sub-divisions within Hieroglyphic Luwian, although its attestation spans more than five hundred years and extends from western Asia Minor to northern Syria. Morpurgo Davies (1982/3 247f) tentatively viewed rhotacism as a late feature in HLuwian, but the occurrence of *tu-pi+ra/i* /tubiri/ 'shall strike' in BURUNKAYA, §2 and *á-sa-tu-⌜wa/i⌝+ra/i-ma-za-* /Astuwaramantsa-/ in MARAŞ 8, §1 now shows that the development began quite early (cf. Hawkins 1995 104ff and 2000 253). Nor are later texts consistent in their use of rhotacized forms: KULULU 1 shows no examples, while the contemporary KULULU 4 and ÇİFTLİK from the same site do. The use of the ambiguous sign *zi/a* in second-millenium hieroglyphic texts makes it impossible to prove that the merger of animate nominative and accusative plural as /-ntsi/ had taken place, but nothing suggests that it had not. We must, of course, bear in mind the very limited nature of our corpus and the likelihood that our inscriptions reflect a formal written standard that masks differences in local speech.

The commonly presumed unity of 'Cuneiform Luwian' is far more dubious. Starke (1985) has shown that, aside from two fragmentary letters, the cuneiform texts containing whole sentences and extended passages in Luwian consist of only a handful of distinct ritual and festival compositions. Furthermore, all of these date from the

16th and 15th centuries, whereas the massive appearance of Luwianisms in Hittite context is a phenomenon of the 14th and 13th (Starke 1985 30). Starke suggests a chronological division between 'Old and Middle Luwian' of the ritual and festival texts and 'Neo-Luwian' of the later Luwianisms. This is not the only possibility.

We know that the last Hittite kings (Tudhaliya IV and Suppiluliuma II) were composing texts in Hieroglyphic Luwian by the late 13th century, including in Hattusa. Available evidence suggests that this language had the characteristic features of HLuwian as defined above (note e.g. genitive singular NEPOS-*sa* 'grandson's' in EMİR-GAZİ altars, §4). When we find in Hittite context *tiwariya* '(flower) of the Sun-god' with *rhotacism* (see Popko 1984), we may wonder whether the Glossenkeilwörter and other Luwianisms should not be assigned to the same dialect as HLuwian.[2] We may also consider the possibility that the error of animate nominative plural ^{LÚ}KÚR-*inzi* [(*kattawatna*)]*llinzi ūtnaššinzi ḫišḫišaššinzi* (KUB 35.48 ii 11-12) for accusative plural is not a mere accident, but an intrusion from the contemporary Luwian known to the 13th-century scribe (that reflected in HLuwian) into the original Luwian of the ritual. The general Hittite context of all of our Luwian cuneiform material bids caution, and the suggested association of the Luwianisms of later Hittite texts with HLuwian must at present be regarded as a hypothesis, not an established fact.

If this hypothesis should prove to be correct, it would pose the question: what then is the language of the cuneiform Luwian ritual and festival texts? Starke (1997a 458f) argues that the geographic extent of CLuwian is virtually identical to that of HLuwian and that their relationship is that of 'sociolects'. There is no basis for either of these claims. Fragmentary as they are, the two letters in CLuwian (NB the use of *pā*!) suffice to show that this dialect was used for everyday purposes as well as for more formal compositions, just like HLuwian and Hittite. We cannot view CLuwian as a special dialect used only for rituals. In the absence of any indications to the contrary, we must infer it represents a regional or local dialect.

As to the location of this dialect, there is no positive evidence that any of the texts containing passages in Luwian have any connections

[2] Starke's attribution (1990 147) of the change *d* > *r* just in the case of *tiwariya* to dissimilation to the initial dental stop is purely ad hoc. Starke (1999b 530) does allow for the possibility of HLuwian features in Luwianisms in Hittite texts.

to Arzawa or western Anatolia.[3] In the few cases where a determination can be made, the Luwian rituals found in Hattusa are imported from the southern region of Kizzuwatna. The festival for the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna is surely a composition of Hattusa (see Starke 1985 270f), but its language may have been modeled on that of the ritual imports. Our present evidence thus permits, though obviously it by no means proves, the view that the language of cuneiform Luwian ritual texts represents an archaic (16th-15th century) dialect of Kizzuwatna. That we thus far have found no traces of its distinctive features in the much later HLuwian inscriptions from this region is hardly surprising. Only further new data can confirm or refute this proposal.

One last complication in the corpus of Luwian texts in cuneiform is presented by the 'Istanuwian songs'. That these texts stand apart has long been recognized, and several scholars have proposed to see in them a Luwian dialect distinct from both the language of Luwian ritual texts and HLuwian: see Kammenhuber (1969 122), Rosenkranz (1978 6), and Carruba (1981 136). However, Laroche (1959 12) and Starke (1985 31) have voiced serious reservations. Laroche is certainly correct in arguing that the apparently divergent vocabulary of the Istanuwian texts carries little weight. This may easily be due to different subject matter. It is also undeniable that the quality of the text copies available to us is poor, as Starke emphasizes, and the obscure vocabulary seriously limits our overall understanding and hence ability to distinguish aberrancies due to the copyists from any possible genuine dialect features.

Nonetheless, the possibility of a distinct local dialect remains. For example, the context of the sentence *duššaniyallaš-mi āyatra pāiu* (KUB 35.135 iv 22) seems to favor an analysis: 'Let the *dussaniyalla p__ ayatra* to/for me.' Since the verb *pāiu* is transitive and takes an indirect object or beneficiary, it is hard to avoid a sense 'give'. However, in both HLuwian and the Luwian of cuneiform rituals the verb 'give' has generalized the stem *pīya-*, and the third person singular

[3] The fact that the ritual of Zarpiya, who is from Kizzuwatna, is attested on the same tablet as that of Uhhamuwa of Arzawa and Ashella of Hapalla proves nothing. It is clear that these rituals are grouped together due to their common theme of being directed against an epidemic. Neither of the latter two rituals shows any linguistic archaisms or a *single* Luwianism in the entirely Hittite text. They therefore tell us nothing about the status or origin of CLuwian.

imperative ending is always *-t(t)u*, even for verbs reflecting the '*ḫi*-conjugation'. Acceptance of *pāiu* as 'let give' thus presupposes a doubly archaic dialect form.[4] More evidence is sorely needed to decide the question of an 'Istanuwian dialect'.

2. *Lycian, Carian, Pisidian and Sidetic*

It is common practice to refer to the first-millennium language Lycian of southwestern Anatolia as a 'Luwian' language, and one even finds the claim that Lycian is a direct descendant of Luwian as attested in the second-millennium (e.g. Bryce 1998 57 and this volume p. 102, Cau 1999-2000 183). Carian, Pisidian, and Sidetic, other first-millennium Indo-European languages of Anatolia, are also typically labeled 'Luwian dialects' or 'Luwian languages'.

Derivation of Lycian from attested Luwian is quite impossible. First, the four-vowel system of Lycian with /a/, /e/, /i/ and /u/ cannot have developed from the three-vowel system of Luwian with only /a/, /i/, and /u/: see independently Melchert (1992a) and Rasmussen (1992) and the detailed affirmation of Hajnal (1995 90-99).[5] Second, Lycian preserves a genitive plural in *-ẽ* < **-ōm* (= Old Hittite *-an* and Lydian dative-locative plural *-aν*) and a dative-locative in *-e* < **-os* (= Hittite *-aš*). See on the latter ending Neu (1991 14) and Melchert (1994 182). Luwian has already lost the genitive plural and renewed the dative-locative plural. Third, one of the two principal conjunctions of Lycian is *me* (cognate with Hittite enclitic conjunction *-ma*), which is completely unattested in Luwian. In the face of these insuperable discrepancies the shared patterns in the formation of personal names carry no weight.

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[4] The use of *-mi* instead of *-mu* in the function of an indirect object (vs. /-mi/ only as a *reflexive* in HLuwian) would likewise be a special feature of the Istanuwian dialect. It is worth noting that *-mi* occurs nowhere in the CLuwian ritual texts. It *is* attested in the above-mentioned festival for the Storm-god and Sun-goddess in a very unclear context (KBo 17.36+ iv 14) and in a letter fragment (KBo 8.17,7). Whether this single feature is enough to associate these other texts with Istanuwa seems doubtful. On the history of *-mi* cf. section D.5 below.

[5] A conditioned split by which Luwian short /a/ becomes Lycian /e/ while long /a:/ becomes Lycian /a/ (Starke 1997a 476[108]) is refuted by the example of preterite first singular *-xa/ga* < **-h₂e* with short vowel. The general first-millennium change of *a* > *e* in Luwian, Lydian, and Carian claimed by Starke (1997a 472[58] and 1999b 531) does not exist! The non-Indo-European place-names *Lazpa* = Λέσβος (NB the sequence *-zp-*!) and *Apasa* = Ἔφεσος are in any case worthless as evidence.

That Luwian and Lycian are closely related dialects is not in question. They share a number of significant common innovations vis-à-vis Hittite and the other Indo-European Anatolian languages (see Melchert 2002b for a recent survey). It is an open question whether their relationship is best described in terms of dialect geography with areal diffusion of innovations (Melchert 2002b) or through assumption of a unified prehistoric language from which the attested languages then developed by divergence (Oettinger 1978 and 2002 52, Starke 1997a 468, et al.). The latter model also does not preclude some instances of later areal diffusion of features. In either case the use of the term 'Luwian' to refer to Lycian (as well as Carian and the poorly attested Pisidian and Sidetic) is highly misleading and should be abandoned. Such a usage seriously confuses the important and already complex issue of the geographic extent of Luwian in the narrow and proper sense.[6]

While neither the presence of HLuwian inscriptions nor personal names *guarantee* that given areas had significant numbers of Luwian speakers, it remains likely that Luwian *as attested* was spoken over wide areas of west central, southern, and southeastern Anatolia in the second and first millennia. On the other hand, several scholars have argued that different patterns of living and social structures developed in the mountainous regions of southwestern Anatolia (see e.g Carruba 1996 29 with references, Starke 1997a 469, n. 14, and Bryce in this volume p. 41). Direct evidence for a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle remains sparse, and the campaign of Tudhaliya IV against cities of the Xanthos valley as described in the YALBURT inscription shows that some settlements existed already in the second millennium. Nevertheless, it seems significant that the Hittite texts make no reference to any kings of the Lukka lands. Moreover, Tudhaliya

[6] Certainly to be rejected is the notion of Lycian as a 'Luwian *dialect*', as proposed by Starke (1997a 457 with notes 107 & 108). This usage totally obscures the problem of dialectal differences *within* Lycian and Luwian. Also false is the claim of Starke (1982 424 and 1999 531) and Carruba (1996 34f) that Milyan (Lycian B) is closer to Luwian than it is to Lycian. This is based on a single alleged isogloss, which is itself false. Lycian (A) does share the innovation of the animate nominative plural ending **-nsi* (see correctly Eichner 1974 20), as shown by the animate plurals *epewētlm̃mēi* and *ladāi* (contra Starke 1982 419ff et al.). Milyan and Lycian are closely related dialects that share significant common innovations (pace Starke), including the change of original **o* > *e* and two 'umlaut' rules (see Hajnal 1995 79ff).

in his Lycian campaign is not even opposed by a 'prince' or ruler of the individual cities he attacks. There does thus appear to be some basis for assuming that the southwest of Anatolia was culturally distinct already in the second millennium. It is thus hardly surprising that Lycian retains features that distinguish it from Luwian. Our knowledge of Carian, Pisidian, and Sidetic is too limited to determine whether they are late forms of Luwian or reflect distinct dialects like Lycian, but prudence dictates that we not prejudge the issue by labeling them Luwian either.[7] The following description applies only to Luwian as defined earlier in this section. The orientation is synchronic, with limited references to historical developments where these help illuminate the attested state of affairs.

B. PHONOLOGY

1. *Phonemic Inventory*

All forms of Luwian share the same inventory of sounds: stops /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, an affricate /ts/, fricatives /s/, /H/, /h/, sonorants /m/, /n/, /r/, /l/, /w/, /y/, vowels /a/, /i/, /u/, /a:/, /i:/, /u:/. As discussed at length in Melchert (1994 13ff), the true nature of the contrast between the respective pairs of stops is difficult to determine. Use of the symbols /p/, /b/ and so on is not intended to claim that the only or principal difference was necessarily that of voiceless versus voiced, though this interpretation is not excluded. All that can be asserted with confidence is that in cuneiform orthography Luwian contrasts geminate stops versus simple stops in intervocalic position: *a-at-ta* /a-ta/ (conjunction + particle) vs. *a-a-ta~a-a-da* /ada/ 'he/she made'. Hieroglyphic Luwian orthography cannot show this contrast directly, but only equivalents of simple *-t-* in Cuneiform Luwian undergo 'rhotacism' (see in detail section B.2.1): HLuwian *á-ra+a* /ara/ 'he/she made' beside *á-tà* confirms that the latter is /ada/ as in CLuwian.

The list of stops given above is the simplest compatible with available evidence. It assumes that an original voiceless labiovelar stop **k*^{w} as in the CLuwian interrogative-relative pronoun *ku-i-* has

[7] As a cover term for all of these dialects one may propose 'Luwic'. Compare Turkic vs. Turkish. 'Southern Anatolian' (Ivanov 2001) or 'Southwestern Anatolian' (Melchert 2002b) would also be viable alternatives, despite the likely extension of Luwian towards the northwest.

been reanalyzed as a sequence /kw/. Weak positive support for this analysis is found in the confusion of the sequence /Hwi/ with the interrogative-relative in late HLuwian (for which see Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1993). Nothing, however, precludes preservation of the unitary labiovelar /k^{w}/ at an earlier stage of the language: cf. the situation for Hittite (Melchert 1994 92, following Lindeman 1965). There would not have been a corresponding voiced /g^{w}/ in Luwian in any case, since inherited *g^{w} had become /w/ unconditionally (Melchert 1994 239 with references).

Some cases of Luwian orthographic *z* represent a voiceless affricate that has a variety of sources: some instances stand for a sequence /t+s/ or /d+s/: CLuwian *Ti-wa-az* 'Sun-god' (nom. sg.) = /tiwad+s/. Others reflect the result of a prehistoric sequence **ty*: HLuwian *ha-zi-(ya)-* 'to incise, inscribe' < **h₂atye/o-* *'to strike' (cf. Hittite *ḫazziye-* 'to strike, play a musical instrument'). Still others are the result of a Proto-Indo-European voiceless palatal stop **ḱ*: CLuwian *zī-* 'to lie' < PIE **ḱei-* (see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins 1988 and Melchert 1987). Since there is no evidence to suggest a contrast, we may assign all of these to a single phoneme defined as a voiceless dental affricate. Given their prehistory, however, some realizations of this phoneme may well have been phonetically palatal or palatalized. For another possible value of Luwian orthographic *z* see the next paragraph.

CLuwian contrasts simple and geminate *s* in intervocalic position: ^{NA_4}*a-aš-šu-* 'pillar, column' versus *wa-a-šu-* 'good'. We may assume the same contrast for HLuwian. Contra Melchert (1994 274) there is no principled reason to deny that /s/ may appear in Luwian as a voiced fricative [z] next to sonorants.[8] For sequences of nasal or liquid plus **s* one may assume *either* epenthesis and [ts] *or* voicing to [z] (thus correctly Laroche 1959 133 contra Melchert 1994 233f): e.g. anim. acc. pl. *-nza* < **-ns* or $^{GIŠ.ḪUR}$*gulzattar* 'wooden tablet' < **g^{w}ₒls-*.[9]

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[8] My objections to two values [ts] and [z] for orthographic *z* in the respective writing systems were unfounded. For cuneiform (both Luwian and Hittite) and the Anatolian hieroglyphs a model would have been present in the use of the same signs in Akkadian for [z] and 'emphatic' *ṣ*. For Lycian compare the use of zeta for both [dz] and [zd] in Greek.

[9] It is very doubtful, however, that one may interpret the personal name *Mi-zi/a+ra/i-mu-wa-* as containing a HLuwian **mizra-* 'shining, resplendent' < **misro-* (cf. Hittite *mišriwant-* 'shining'), as per Carruba (1990 248f). David Hawkins (pers.

CLuwian shows a contrast between geminate and simple *-ḫ-* in intervocalic position parallel to that seen in the stops: *a-aḫ-ḫa* 'when, as, like' versus *a-ḫa* 'I made'. Both the nature of these fricatives (dorsal or pharyngeal) and the nature of the contrast between them (voicing, length, and/or something else) are indeterminate. The symbols /H/ and /h/ are merely conventional. Once again HLuwian orthography cannot show this contrast, but there is no reason to doubt that it exists.

Among the sonorants there is a contrast between simple and geminate intervocalic /m/, /n/, /l/, and /r/, shown directly in CLuwian orthography: *la-la-a-ma* 'receipts' versus *ta-ta-ri-ya-am-ma* 'curses', infinitive ending *-u-na* versus present first plural ending *-un-ni*, *ḫa-al-li-iš-(ša)* 'illness' versus *ḫa-la-a-li-* 'pure', *a-ar-ra-ya-ti* 'long' versus *a-a-ra-ti* 'time' (abl.-instr.).

Luwian has three distinct vowels /a/, /i/, and /u/: CLuwian *a-ta* /a-(a)da/ (conjunction + 'it') versus *a-ti* /a-di/ (conjunction + reflexive particle) versus *a-du* /a-du/ (conjunction + 'to him/her'). Direct contrasts between the respective short and long vowels in Luwian are few, due to a series of complex prehistoric changes (cf. Melchert 1994 60, following Eichner and Morpurgo Davies, and also Melchert 1994 239-247). Nevertheless, the distinction is surely in some cases phonemic: cf. *ādduwa̲l-za* 'evil' (neut. nom.-acc. sg.) versus *ādduwā̲l* 'evils' (neut. nom.-acc. pl.), abl.-inst. ending *-Cāti̲* versus *zāti̲* 'this' (dat.-loc. sg.), and *wāšu̲n* 'good' (anim. acc. sg.) versus *ḫīrū̲n* 'oath' (nom.-acc. sg.).

2. *Phonological Rules/Variation*

2.1 *Rhotacism*

As analyzed in detail by Morpurgo Davies (1982/83), HLuwian often shows alternation between dental stops and /r/: e.g. *á-tà~á-ra+a* (/ada/~/ara/) 'did, made', ablative-instrumental ending *-Ca-ti~ -Ca-ri+i* (/-adi/~/-ari/). As she shows, the underlying phoneme in all sure examples is the *voiced* dental stop /d/. Also noteworthy is that all clear cases appear to involve intervocalic /d/. There is no good evidence for original **r* being spelled with the signs for dental stops.[10] There

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comm.) points out that in view of the many other personal names consisting of a place-name plus *mūwa-* it is far more likely that the first element is *Mizra-* 'Egypt'.

[10] The writing "LONGUS"*-ta/i*$_5$*-ya* (Hu.) vs. ("LONGUS")*a+ra/i-ya* 'long' (Ho.) in KARATEPE, §LI *could* be such an example, but cf. Hawkins (2000 65).

are also several examples of alternation between /l/ and /r/: e.g. *wa/i-la-~wa/i+ra/i-* (/wal(a)-/~/war(a)-/) 'to die'. All clear cases involve underlying /l/. Finally, there are two instances of /r/ appearing for /n/: *ma-ru-ha* (SULTANHAN, §36) for regular *ma-nu-ha* 'ever, at all' and *ta+ra/i-ma-za* for /tanimants/ 'all' (AKSARAY, §5). It is important to stress that all of the examples cited are spelled by the same means as etymological **r*: either the sign *ru* or the oblique stroke ('thorn') appended to another sign. Finally, one can find spellings like *-Ca-ti* and *-Ca-ri+i* alternating in the very same text.

The alternation with /r/ suggests that /d/ was no longer articulated as a stop in intervocalic position in HLuwian. One may compare similar developments in Lycian and Lydian (see Melchert 1994 40&43 with refs.). One possible interpretation is that **r* and intervocalic **d* had simply merged as a voiced flap [ɾ] in HLuwian, spelled alternately with the signs for dental stops and for *r*. However, the unidirectionality of the alternations argues decisively against this. If the realization of intervocalic /d/ were identical with /r/, we would expect at least some 'reverse spellings' of **r* with the signs for dental stops. We cannot determine the precise phonetics of /r/ or intervocalic /d/, but available evidence suggests that they were different sounds, as were /r/ and /l/. They were, however, close enough in HLuwian that intervocalic /d/ and /l/ could sometimes be realized as a sound identified with /r/.

There are indications that the change of intervocalic **d* to something other than a stop took place already in the prehistory of Luwian. Hawkins (1995a 114ff) argues that the hieroglyphic sign *416, which is as he shows the archaic of sign *319 (*ta/i*$_4$), has a value *li*$_x$ in second-millennium texts and likewise that *175 (*ta/i*$_5$) may stand for *la*. However, there is no evidence that any HLuwian word with etymological /l/ is ever spelled with signs *319 or *416.[11] What Hawkins' examples do show is a rendering of Luwian intervocalic /d/ as /l/ in *Hittite*. The queen's name written *ká-ta/i*$_4$ in hieroglyphs appears in cuneiform as ^{f}*Ka-li*. The personal name appearing in hieroglyphs as

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Likewise uncertain is MALUS-*ta/i*$_4$*-zi* (Ho.) vs. (MALUS)*á-tu-wa/i+ra/i-zi* (rhotacized /adduwarintsi/ for */adduwalintsi/) 'evil' (Hu.) in KARATEPE, §XX. The spelling in Ho. may well stand for /haniyadintsi/: cf. MALUS-*ta/i*$_5$*-sa-tara/i-ti* /haniyadastradi/ in BOYBEYPINARI 1, §5.

[11] On MALUS-*ta/i*$_4$*-zi* of KARATEPE, §XX (Ho.) see the preceding footnote.

ta/i$_5$*-ta/i*$_4$*-mi*[12] is represented in cuneiform as ^{m}*A-la-li-mi-* (Poetto apud Hawkins 1995a 114[9]). The second example is crucial in showing the Hittite context of the substitution of *l* for *d*, since it applies not only to the intervocalic *-d-*, but also to the initial *d-*, in this case combined with a prothetic *a-*. We are facing two distinct but related phenomena in the Hittite treatment of prehistoric loanwords from Luwian.

We have independent reasons for assuming that all the attested Anatolian languages had devoiced original voiced stops in word-initial position by the historical period (cf. section B.3.1). We also know that this change must have taken place separately in the history of the individual languages (cf. Melchert 1994 18ff with refs.). We are free to assume that the change took place earlier in Hittite than in Luwian. Hittite, having no word-initial *d-*, replaced the initial *d-* of Luwian loans with *l-*.[13] This accounts for the borrowing of Luwian **dabarna-* '(the) strong (one)' as *labarna-* (see p. 18ff above for details). In some cases Hittite speakers further added a prothetic *a-*. This led not only to the name *Alalimi-* but also to the verb *allappaḫḫ-* 'to spit' from Luwian **dapaH-* (> attested CLuwian *tappa-* 'to spit' with eventual initial devoicing). That Hittite speakers also altered the intervocalic *-d-* of the name **Dadimi-* suggests that Luwian **d* had already changed to something other than a stop, since Hittite speakers should have had no problem in pronouncing an intervocalic voiced stop.

There are two examples pointing to a change of intervocalic *d* > *l* in Luwian parallel to *d* > *r*: CLuwian *tiwaliya-* for *tiwadiya-* 'of the Sun' in KUB 35.48 ii 11 and HLuwian ^{l}*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la-ma-za-sa* for usual ^{l}*á-sa-tu-wa/i-ta/i*$_4$*-ma-za-* (/Astu(w)-adamantsa-/) in KARKA-

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[12] As per Poetto (1992 432[3] et aliter) and Hawkins (2000 30), the signs *172 and *319/416 may indicate either /a/ or /i/ vocalism. They should be *transliterated* accordingly. The reading of the vowel is a matter of interpretation. /a/ vocalism in the Empire period beside /i/ in the examples just cited is assured by the equation of HLuwian *pi-na-ta/i*$_4$ with Lycian *Pinale* and Greek Πίναρα in YALBURT and the correspondence of HLuwian *ta/i*$_4$*-wa/i-ni-(sa)* with Lycian *tewinaza* (with Poetto 1993 29[43] against Hawkins 1995a 81). Lycian *e* always corresponds to Luwian *a*, never to Luwian *i*! Lycian *tewinaza-* also shows that in *ta/i*$_4$*-wa/i-ni-(sa)* the sign *ta/i*$_4$ is indicating a dental stop in HLuwian in the second millennium.

[13] Likewise the Akkadian personal name *Dādī-Bānu* is rendered as *La-tà-pa-nu* in an Emar-type digraph (Hier. seal impression and Cun. epigraph) from Syria (Poetto 1993 11 and apud Hawkins 1995a 114, note 9). At that date Luwian had no word-initial *d-*. The problem cited for pre-Hittite repeated itself and was solved similarly. Greek Demeter appears as *Lamẽtru-* in Lydian for the same reason. Such substitutions are trivial in the treatment of foreign names and appellatives that do not fit the phonology of the borrowing language.

MIŠ A27u.[14] We cannot exclude that some of the names cited above also had variants with *-l-* in Luwian. However, so long as all analyzable words with *ta/i*$_4$ and *ta/i*$_5$ have original voiced dental stops, we must assume that the reflex of intervocalic **-d-* *alternates* with *-l-*, just as it does with *-r-*. There is no more justification for reading these signs as standing for *lV* than there is for reading them as standing for *rV*.

2.2 *Deletions*

Luwian loses word-final stops. In neuter nouns whose stem ends in a dental stop this results in a synchronic rule deleting the stop in the nominative-accusative singular: e.g. CLuwian *ḫazziwit-* 'rite' (nom.-acc. sg. *ḫa-az-zi-ú-i* vs. dat.-loc. sg. *ḫa-az-zi-wi*$_5$*-ti*). This rule applies before the addition of the particle /-sa/ (see C.1.2): thus *ḫantawadaḫi-ša*=REX-*ta-hi-sa* 'kingship' (stem /Hantawadahid-/). Confirmation that the underlying stem ends in the stop comes from cases where the rule is not applied: nom.-acc. sg. ^{UZU}*zār-za*=*za*+*ra/i-za* 'heart' < /tsard-sa/ (Morpurgo Davies &Hawkins 1988 175f) and HLuwian nom.-acc. sg. *wa/i-ni-za* 'stone, stele' < /wanid-sa/ (Hawkins 2000 180).

/H/ is lost by an optional rule between sonorant and /w/, and /h/ more generally before /w/: CLuwian ^{GIŠ}*ir(ḫ)uit-* 'basket' and *lā(ḫ)u-n(ā)i-* 'to wash'. All sure examples are in CLuwian, but this is likely due to chance (cf. Melchert 1994 52 on the verbal ending *-wi*=/-wi/).

There are enough cases of the non-writing of /-n-/ before stop or affricate in CLuwian to suggest that it shares with Hittite the sporadic loss of /-n-/ in this environment, probably resulting at least partly in a nasalized vowel (cf. Melchert 1994 124 on Hittite). We may assume the same for HLuwian, but its consistent non-writing of preconsonantal /-n-/ precludes direct proof. This change is complete in the first-millennium Anatolian languages Lycian and Lydian.

It is very unlikely that HLuwian shows genuine optional deletion of initial /a-/ in /aba-/ 'that; he/she/it', /amu/ 'I, me' and /ama/i:-/ 'my' as previously assumed (e.g. in Melchert 1994 276). See Hawkins pp. 159-161 in this volume and the further discussion in D.10 below.

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[14] Since the noun /adaman-tsa/ 'name' in Luwian has consistently a *-d-* (cf. Melchert 1994 82f for details), it would be ad hoc to suppose that the one-time *-l-* here is due to the influence of a form with *l-* as in HLuwian *la-ma-ni-(ya)-* 'to call'.

There is sporadic syncope of the sequences /-iya-/ and /-uwa-/ in both CLuwian and HLuwian, as noted by Mittelberger (1964 74ff): cf. *ariyaddu~arindu* and *dūwandu~dūndu* and *i-zi-ya-ta~i-zi-i-ta* and *tu-wa/i-ta~tu-ta*.

2.3 *Insertions*

Remarkably, the Proto-Indo-European 'epenthesis' rule inserting an [s] between successive dental stops appears to survive as a synchronic rule in Luwian, based on the evidence of the verb 'to eat': CLuwian second plural *aztūwari* vs. third plural imperative *adandu* and infinitive *aduna* and HLuwian third singular imperative *á-za-tu* ([ats-tu]) vs. third plural imperative *á-tà-tu-u* ([adantu] and infinitive *á-tu-na~á-ru-na* ([ad/runa]). Luwian also shows sporadic epenthesis of [-t-] in clusters of /-sr-/: cf. *ḫattašt(ar)ra/ī-*=/Hattastra/i:-/ 'violence' vs. ^{NA_4}*kuttaš(ša)ra/ī-*=/kutassra/i:-/ 'orthostat' (see for the suffix section C.4.2 with refs.).

2.4 *'Sandhi' Rules*

The initial /s-/ of the particle /-sa/ appears as *z* after /n/ and /l/: *parnan-za*=DOMUS-*na-za* 'house', CLuwian nom.-acc. sg. *ādduwal-za* 'evil' (but cf. no change after /r/: CLuwian *utar-ša* 'word'). This change may be interpreted either as voicing to [z] or epenthesis to [ts].

Final /-n/ sometimes appears as *-m* before the enclitic *-pa*: CLuwian *mām-pa* '(but) if' and *nānum-pa* '(but) now'. This assimilation may well have been more common in spoken Luwian than attested spellings suggest. HLuwian orthography cannot show the feature.

The /-u/ of enclitic /-mu/ 'me' is deleted before a following enclitic with initial /a-/: e.g. HLuwian **a-wa/i-ma-tà* (/a-wa-m-ada/) 'me they'.

2.5 *Vowel Lengthening*

The contrast between CLuwian *a-an-na-an* 'below' as free-standing adverb and *an-na-a-an* (*pa-a-ta-an-za*) 'under (the feet)' as proclitic preposition suggests that both /a/ vowels in the word are underlyingly short and are lengthened only under the accent (see Melchert 1994 247). It is likely that the lengthening of short vowels in *open* syllables is also a synchronic rule, but direct evidence is lacking.

3. *Phonotactics*

3.1 *Consonants*

The consonants /ts/, /s/, /H/, /m/,/n/ and /l/ and the glides /w/ and /y/ occur freely in initial position. There is a general prohibition against word-initial /r-/, an areal feature shared with the other Indo-European languages of Anatolia, with the non-Indo-European Hattic and Hurrian, and with Armenian. There are only two attested exceptions in HLuwian, *rú-wa/i-na* (/ruwan/) 'formerly' and the name of the Stag-god /Runtiya-/~/Runtsa-/, both of which reflect a prehistoric initial cluster of palatal stop plus *r-* (see Puhvel 1997 114 and Watkins 1999 15ff). It is very likely that Luwian has devoiced all inherited voiced stops in word-initial position, but the limitations of CLuwian and HLuwian orthography leave only indirect evidence. The verb *pīya-=pi-ya-* 'to give' reflects a preform with voiceless stop (see Tischler 2001 379ff and in detail Melchert 1989a 42ff). The voiced (or lenis) medial stop of the derived stem CLuwian *pí-pí-iš-ša-* (cf. Lycian *pibije-*) cannot be derived by any known phonological rule. It and similar cases from roots with initial voiceless stop are probably analogical to reduplicated forms of roots with initial voiced stop, which with initial devoicing would have had the pattern *TV-DV-* < **DV-DV-* (see Melchert 1994 300). There is one apparent exception to the pattern of word-initial voiceless stops. The new dental stop that develops irregularly from initial **n-* and **s-* is voiced, to judge from the evidence of the Greek loanword δέπας < HLuwian /dibas-/ 'heaven, sky' < **nébhes-* (see most recently Neu 1999 620 with note 6) and the place-name †Δαινις = 'Ελαία (see Neumann apud Gusmani 1986 162), a form of Luwian *tāini(ya)-* 'of oil', cognate with Hittite *šakan-* 'fat, oil' (on which see Hoffner 1994).

Luwian has no stops in word-final position (cf. section B.2.2), and there are no attested examples of /-H/ or /-h/. Final **-m* has become /-n/. We thus find final /-ts/, /-s/, /-r/, /-l/ and /-n/. Final /-y/ occurs as the second element of the diphthong /a:y/, and the absence of final /-a:w/ is probably accidental.

The nature of both cuneiform and hieroglyphic orthography makes any discussion of permitted and prohibited consonant clusters in Luwian problematic. The description in Melchert (1994 248ff) is a mere first attempt in need of further refinement.

3.2 *Vowels*

The vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/, both long and short, occur freely word-initially and word-finally. There are no assured cases of hiatus, but we cannot exclude that some spellings in *(C)a-(a)-i* or *(C)a-(a)-u/ú* represent disyllabic sequences /a_i/ and /a_u/ instead of diphthongs.

4. *Accent*

We can draw a few inferences about Luwian accent from the effects of certain prehistoric changes and from one synchronic rule (see section B.2.5), but the risks of circular argument are quite high. We also cannot take for granted that inferred prehistorical accent patterns persist in the attested language. We may with due caution assume that each Luwian word has one principal accent which in multi-syllabic words may fall on any syllable. There is no positive evidence for mobile accent within nominal or verbal paradigms.

C. MORPHOLOGY

1. *Nominal Inflection*

1.1 *Gender and Number*

Luwian nouns and adjectives alike inflect for gender, number, and case, with the expected difference that only adjectives can appear in more than one gender. There are two genders: animate (common) and inanimate (neuter). The category number includes singular and contrasting count (or distributive) and collective plural for animate nouns: e.g. CLuwian *lalamiš* 'receipt' with collective plural *lalāma* and unattested count plural **lalaminzi* (see Eichner 1985 9 with notes 23-26, Melchert 1993a 122 and 2000b 65 contra Starke 1985 269). There is no synchronic dual, but some prehistoric duals have been subsumed under the collective: *dāuwa=ta-wa/i* (/dawa/) 'eyes' (of one person) < old dual **sók*^{w}*oh*$_{1}$ beside singular *dāwīš* (cf. Starke 1986 161). Neuter nouns typically show only the collective plural. If an explicit count plural is required, Luwian in at least some cases uses the suffix *-ant-* plus the collective ending: CLuwian *āššanta* 'mouths' to neuter *āšš-* (see in more detail Melchert 2000b 61).

1.2 *Case*

Luwian has a maximum of seven cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, ergative, genitive, dative-locative, and ablative-instrumental. However, the vocative (distinguished from the nominative only in the singular) is limited to a mere handful of examples in CLuwian. The neuter as expected has a single form for nominative and accusative. HLuwian merges the animate nominative and accusative plural, using the ending of the nominative. The genitive case is attested only in HLuwian, having been lost in CLuwian. Even in HLuwian the use of the genitive case competes with an inflected 'relational' or 'possessive' adjective that agrees with its head noun (see on the syntax in section D.3). The ablative-instrumental does not distinguish singular and plural. The Luwian nominal endings may be schematized as follows. CLuwian is given in bound transcription, HLuwian in a phonological interpretation. A dashed line indicates a systematic gap. Endings in brackets are rare.

	Singular		Plural	
	CLuwian	HLuwian	CLuwian	HLuwian
Nom.Anim.	*-š*	/-s/	*-nzi*	/-ntsi/
Acc.Anim.	*-n*	/-n/	*-nz(a)*	/-ntsi/
Vocative	[-Ø]	---	[nominative used]	
Nom.-Acc.Nt.	-Ø, *-n*	-Ø, /-n/	*-a,* [-Ø]	/-a/
Ergative	*-antiš*	/-antis/	*-antinzi*	/-antintsi/
Genitive	---	/-as/, /-asi/?	---	/-as/, /-asi/?
Dat.-Loc.	*-i,* [*-a*]	/-i/, [/-a/]	*-anz(a)*	/-ants/
Abl.-Inst.	*-ati* /-adi/			

The CLuwian animate accusative plural *-nza* is to be read as [-nts] or [-nz] without final vowel: see Starke (1990 44). In the nom.-acc. sg. neuter the ending /-n/ is that of *a*-stems, zero that of all other classes.

Frequently in CLuwian and nearly obligatorily in HLuwian the nom.-acc. sg. neuter is extended by a particle /-sa/, which appears as *-za* after /-n/ and /-l/ (see section B.2.4). The particle usually carries no meaning, but its original force as a deictic adjective 'this' is preserved in CLuwian *īnzagan-za...šapiyaimman* 'this *i.* (is) *s*__ed' (KBo 29.6 Ro 25), where it functions parallel to nom. sg. animate *zaš* 'this' and nom.-acc. pl. neuter *za* 'these'. This example also con-

firms that the particle marks neuter *singulars*, as already shown by Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann (1974 173ff) and van den Hout (1984) against the false claim of Starke (1990 46ff).[15]

Contra Starke (1990 46 note 77) CLuwian does preserve a nom.-acc. plural neuter zero ending with lengthening of the final stem vowel: *ādduwāl* beside renewed *ādduwala* 'evils'. Hittite *ḫuidār* 'wild beasts' is also borrowed from some form of Luwian. The existence of a nom.-acc. pl. neuter ending in /-i/ in Luwian is doubtful: see the discussions of Gertz (1982 238ff), Starke (1990 407 with refs.) and Hawkins (2000 340).

The regular HLuwian genitive singular ending is /-as/. The ending /-asi/ is not entirely assured, but an example like ADIYAMAN 1, §8 **a-pa-si-i a-ta$_5$-ma-za* 'his name' cannot show an inflected form of the possessive adjective (which could only be *a-pa-sa-za*). That **a-pa-si-i* is a mere spelling for /apas/ is possible, but seems unlikely. Both /-as/ and /-asi/ apparently can also be used occasionally for a genitive plural. For an example with /-asi/ see ANCOZ 7, §4.

The regular dative-locative singular ending is /-i/, but one also finds occasional /-a/: CLuwian *Taurišizza* ^{d}LAMMA-*ya* 'to the Tutelary Deity of Taurisa', also *ḫŭmma* 'into a pigsty' in Hittite context, HLuwian (NEPOS)*ha-ma-su-ka-la* 'great-grandson'. Names with stems in *-a-* also occasionally show /-aya/: CLuwian ^{URU}*Ḫattušaya*, HLuwian (DEUS)*Kar-hu-ha-ya*.

1.3 *'ī-mutation'*

A defining feature of Luwian nominal inflection is so-called '*ī*-mutation', as first established by Starke (1990 45ff).[16] Many, but by no means all, nominal stems in Luwian obligatorily insert an *-ī-* between the stem and the case ending *just* in the animate nominative

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[15] Contra Carruba (1982a) and Ivanov (2001 137) there is absolutely no basis for attributing an 'animatizing' or 'quasi-ergative' force to the particle *-sa*. Not a single example of a form with the particle ever acts as the subject of a transitive verb in Luwian, and in fact the overwhelming majority of examples are direct objects, as expected of neuter nouns. On the true ergative in Luwian see section D.3.

[16] Starke himself refers to '*i*-Motion', but since the addition of the *-ī-* does not in its attested form change the gender of the stem, I follow the suggestion of Günter Neumann apud Rieken (1994 43 note 6) to call the phenomenon '*ī*-mutation'. The prehistoric source of the phenomenon remains to be fully explicated: cf. among others Oettinger (1987), Starke (1990 86ff), Melchert (1994), and Zeilfelder (2001 215ff)

and accusative singular and plural. The results of this process may be best illustrated in the paradigm of an adjective such as CLuwian *ādduwal-* 'bad, evil': nom. sg. anim. *ādduwališ*, acc. sg. anim. *ādduwalin*, nom.-acc. sg. nt. *ādduwal-(za)*, dat.-loc. sg. *ādduwali**, nom. pl. anim. *ādduwalinzi*, acc. pl. anim. *ādduwalinz(a)**, nom.-acc. pl. nt. *ādduwala*, dat.-loc. pl. *ādduwalanz(a)**, abl.-inst. *ādduwalati*. The length of the inserted *-ī-* is assured by plene spellings such as nom. sg. *da-a-u-i-iš* 'eye' (where the accent is surely on the first syllable). Stems in *-a-* delete the stem vowel before the inserted *-ī-*: *ānna-* 'mother' shows nom. sg. *ānniš*, acc. sg. *ānnin*.

The case forms with the inserted vowel naturally have the appearance of *i*-stems, but as correctly emphasized by Starke, the *-ī-* is *not* part of the stem, which remains unchanged. This fact is confirmed by the absence of the *-ī-* in derivation: cf. *ānna-wann(ī)-* 'step-mother'. In fact, the system of '*ī*-mutation' is so dominant that nearly all (perhaps in fact all) original *i*-stems have been altered to follow the pattern: a stem **ar-uti-* 'wing' (cf. for the suffix Hittite *-uzzi-*) appears in HLuwian (*78)*a-ru-ti-sá*, *a-ru-ti-na*, *a-ru-ti-zi* 'basket' with *-i-* in the animate nominative and accusative, but the *-i-* has been deleted in CLuwian collective nom.-acc. plural *aruta* and abl.-inst. *arutati* 'wings' (see Melchert 1988 224f for the derivation).[17]

1.4 *Possessive Adjectives in* /-assa-/

The possessive adjectives in /-assa-/, in addition to '*ī*-mutation', show two other inflectional peculiarities. First, in both CLuwian and HLuwian the dat.-loc. singular ends in *-an* (*-aššan*=/-assan/): see on this feature Morpurgo Davies (1980a). Second, in CLuwian, where the possessive adjective has entirely replaced the genitive case, an element *-nz-* is sometimes inserted before the case ending in the dat.-loc. singular and plural and in the ablative-instrumental: *-aššanzan*, *-aššanzanz(a)*, and *-aššanzati*. As argued in Melchert (2000a 173ff), this element marks plurality of the possessor, which is not otherwise expressed in the possessive adjective: e.g. DINGIR.MEŠ-*aššanzati waššaraḫitati* 'by the favor of the gods'.

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[17] Hittite speakers unsurprisingly had some difficulty in dealing with the phenomenon of '*ī*-mutation' when adopting Luwian loanwords. See for discussion Rieken (1994), Melchert (1995 270ff), and Melchert (2002c).

2. *Pronouns*

2.1 *Personal Pronouns*

The accented personal pronouns in Luwian show a very limited inflection. Suppletion in their stem formation still seen in Hittite has been eliminated. The very restricted nature of the CLuwian corpus means that most of our evidence comes from HLuwian:

	CLuwian	HLuwian		CLuwian	HLuwian
1stSg			1stPl		
Nom.		/amu/			/antsunts/
Dat.-Acc.		/amu/		*ānza(š)*	/antsunts/
2ndSg			2ndPl		
Nom.	*tī*[?]	/ti/			/untsunts/
Dat.-Acc.		/tu/		*ū(n)za(š)*	/untsunts/
Abl.-Inst.		/tuwari/			/untsari/

The HLuwian 1st and 2nd plural forms are written *á-zu-za* and *u-zu-za*. An /n/ is assumed for the first syllable based on the CLuwian cognates, and for the second based on the nominal case endings in *-nz(a)*. The *z* may be read as [z] instead of [ts] (cf. section B.1). It is doubtful that there is any functional difference between the CLuwian 1st and 2nd plural forms with and without the final *-š*, but we cannot be sure of this. The same remark applies to the HLuwian variant *u-zu-s(a)* (/untsus/) for the 2nd plural (e.g. KARKAMIŠ A6, §22). We may safely assume ablative-instrumental forms for the first persons at least in HLuwian. Possession is indicated by inflected adjectives which are *a*-stems (with '*ī*-mutation'): 1stSg /ama-/, 2ndSg *tuwa-*=/tuwa-/, 1stPl /antsa-/, 2ndPl /untsa-/. The demonstrative *apā-*=*á-pa-* (/aba-/) 'that' serves as the personal pronoun for the third person. For its inflection see the next section.

In HLuwian /-mu/ is assured as the enclitic dative-accusative pronoun for the first person singular. In CLuwian *-mu* is attested in dative function. In the 'Istanuwian songs' *-mi* appears to be used as a dative (cf. also note 4, p. 175, and section D.5). HLuwian /-du/, /-nts/ and /-mmants/ are the dative enclitic pronouns for the second singular, first plural, and second plural respectively. We may reasonably infer that they also serve for the accusative.

The enclitic personal pronouns for the third person show minor differences in CLuwian and HLuwian:

	CLuwian	HLuwian		CLuwian	HLuwian
NomSgAnim	*-aš*	/-as/	NomPlAnim	*-ata*	/-ada/
AccSgAnim	*-an*	/-an/	AccPlAnim	*-aš*	/-ada/
N-ASgNeut	*-ata*	/-ada/	N-APlNeut	*-ata*	/-ada/
DatSg	*-tu*	/-du/	DatPl	*-mmaš*	/*-mants*/

The HLuwian forms with /-d-/ also appear in rhotacized form. For CLuwian *-aš* as animate accusative plural see Melchert (2000a 179ff).

For the singular HLuwian has special enclitic reflexive forms for all three persons: /-mi/, /-di/ and /-di/ (the latter also appear as [-ri]). The second and third person forms are also attested in CLuwian (see further section D.5 with references). The plural enclitic personal pronouns also serve as reflexives: HLuwian 1stPl /-ants/, 2ndPl /-mants/, 3rdPl /-mants/ and CLuwian 3rdPl *-mmaš*. At least in HLuwian 1stSg /-mu/ also is used as a reflexive in competition with /-mi/.

2.2 *Demonstrative, Interrogative-Relative, and Indefinite Pronouns*

The demonstrative stems in Luwian are *zā-=za-* (/tsa-/) 'this' and *apā-=á-pa-* (/aba-/) 'that'. These inflect as *a*-stems in both CLuwian and HLuwian, without '*ī*-mutation'. For the endings *-inzi* and *-inz(a)* in CLuwian just in the animate plural compare *wa-a-šu-i-en-zi* to the *u*-stem *wāšu-*. For the ending /-aya/ in the HLuwian neuter nom.-acc. plural in what is otherwise an *a*-stem compare examples such as *wa/i+ra/i-la-ya* (/warallaya/) to the stem /waralla/i:-/ 'one's own'.

	CLuwian	HLuwian		CLuwian	HLuwian
NomSgAnim	*zāš*	/tsas/	NomPlAnim	*zīnzi*	/tsantsi/
AccSgAnim	*zān**	/tsan/	AccPlAnim	*zīnz(a)*	/tsantsi/
N-ASgNeut	*zā*	/tsa/	N-APlNeut	*zā*	/tsaya/
Dat-LocSg	*zātī*	/tsadi:/	Dat-LocPl		/tsadants/

The CLuwian animate accusative singular is by chance attested only in the assimilated form *zam-pa* (cf. section B.2.4). The HLuwian dative-locative plural is assured by *zi/a-tá-zi/a* in YALBURT 4, §2. The dative-locative plural /tsadi(ya)nts/ (*za-ti-ya-za*, *za-ti-za*) probably belongs not directly to the demonstrative stem /tsa-/ 'this', but

to a derived adjective /tsadiya-/ 'of this place, hiesig'. No examples are attested of the ablative-instrumental, but it surely would have been *zāti*=/tsadi/* (with *short* final [-i]!). In addition to the possessive adjective in /-assa-/ one finds also the likely genitive in /-asi/: **a-pa-si-(i)* and *za-si* (cf. section C.1.2).

The stem *kui-/kuwa-*=REL-*i/a-* (/kwi/a-/ or /k^{w}i/a-/) serves as relative and interrogative pronoun. The indefinite pronoun is formed by adding the particle *-ḫa*=/-ha/ (in origin the enclitic conjunction 'also, and') to inflected forms of the interrogative (e.g. anim. nom. sg. *kuišḫa*=REL-*(i)-sa-ha* (/kwisha/).[18]

	CLuwian	HLuwian		CLuwian	HLuwian
NomSgAnim	*kuīš*	/kwi:s/	NomPlAnim	*kuīnzi*	/kwi:ntsi/
AccSgAnim	*kuīn*	/kwi:n/	AccPlAnim	*kuīnz(a)**	/kwi:ntsi/
N-ASgNeut	*kui*	/kwantsa/	N-APlNeut		/kwaya/
Dat-LocSg	*kuwātī**	/kwadi:/	Dat-Loc.Pl.		/kwadants/
Abl.-Inst.		/kwadi/[19]			

The CLuwian neuter nom.-acc. singular *kui* is the only sure trace of the *i*-stem seen in cognates such as Hittite *kuiš*. This form is attested in HLuwian only in its secondary use as a subordinating conjunction. The long *-ī-* of the CLuwian animate nominative and accusative singular probably shows the influence of '*ī*-mutation', and the HLuwian paradigm appears to be fully adjusted to this pattern (on the neuter plural /kwaya/ see the remarks above on the demonstrative). The CLuwian dat.-loc. singular is attested only as an adverb 'as, how'. For the dat.-loc. plural see REL-*tá-zi/a* in EMİRGAZİ altars, §19.

3. *Verbal Inflection*

3.1 *Finite Forms of the Verb*

The Luwian verb is inflected for the usual three persons, for singular and plural number, for two tenses (present and preterite), two voices (active and middle), and two moods (indicative and imperative). On

[18] Of peculiar formation is HLuwian nom.-acc. sg. neuter REL-*ha-n(a)*, apparently with secondary end-inflection of the particle.

[19] Attested in BOYBEYPINARI 2, §4ab: *a-wa/i* LITUUS+*na-ti-sa hu-pi-tà-ta-tà-ti* REL-*a-ti sà-ka-tá-li-sà-wa/i* 'Do you see with what *hupitatata-* I am *saka(n)tali*-ing?'. Cf. Starke (1990 518 with refs.) and Hawkins (2000 339).

aspect see D.6. The nature of both the CLuwian and HLuwian text corpora leaves significant gaps in our knowledge of the personal endings. The problem is particularly acute for the middle voice.

Present Indicative Active

	CLuwian	HLuwian		CLuwian	HLuwian
1stSg	*-wi*	/-wi/	1stPl	*-unni*	
2ndSg	*-ši,-tti*?,*-tiš*?	/-si/, /-tis/	2ndPl	*-ttani*?[20]	/-tani/
3rdSg	*-t(t)i, -i*	/-t/di/, /-i/	3rdPl	*-anti*	/-anti/

Present Indicative Middle

	CLuwian	HLuwian		CLuwian	HLuwian
2ndSg			2ndPl	*-ttuwar(i)*	
3rdSg	*-ar(i),-t(t)ari*		3rdPl	*-antari*	

Preterite Indicative Active

	CLuwian	HLuwian		CLuwian	HLuwian
1stSg	*-ḫ(ḫ)a*	/-H/ha(n)/	1stPl		
2ndSg		/-t/da/	2ndPl		
3rdSg	*-t(t)a*	/-t/da/	3rdPl	*-a(u)nta*	/-a(u)nta/

Imperative Active

	CLuwian	HLuwian		CLuwian	HLuwian
1stSg	*-lu*?				
2ndSg	-Ø	-Ø	2ndPl	*-ttan*	/-t/danu/*
3rdSg	*-t(t)u*	/-t/du/	3rdPl	*-antu*	/-antu/

The only attested present indicative first singular ending is *-wi*.[21] As shown by Morpurgo Davies (1979), the present indicative third singular ending *-i* reflects a formation cognate with the Hittite '*ḫi*-conjugation'. CLuwian *-tti*, if real, would reflect the matching present second singular ending (see Melchert 1993a iv). In any case, the HLuwian ending /-tis/ (perhaps also attested in CLuwian *-tiš*) repre-

[20] Context argues that *āttanī* in KUB 9.6+ iii 10 is second plural to *ā-* 'to do, make', as per Carruba (1968 15). Cf. also D.8.

[21] There is no CLuwian variant *-mi*. The alleged example *a-ú-i-mi* in KUB 35.71 ii 5 cited by Laroche (1959 36) is to be restored as a participle *a-ú-i-<im>-mi[-iš]*: cf. KBo 29.6 Ro 19ff.

sents a renewed form of second singular *-*ti* (Morpurgo Davies 1980b 106). However, it is certain that there is only one first person singular ending in the present and the preterite. There is no evidence for more than one ending for the preterite second and third singular. We also have no proof that the distribution of second singular /-si/ vs. /-ti/~/-tis/ matches that of third singular /-ti/ vs. /-i/. It is therefore very doubtful whether one may speak of two distinct synchronic conjugations in attested Luwian (cf. Morpurgo Davies 1980b 107).[22]

The present indicative third singular ending /-ti/ and the preterite singular endings of all three persons (as well as imperative third singular /-tu/) all have voiceless and voiced (or 'unlenited' and 'lenited') variants. On their distribution see Morpurgo Davies (1982/83). The voiced variants also appear rhotacized in HLuwian.

On the alleged HLuwian present first plural ending *-mi-n(a)* see the next section. The HLuwian ending /-han/ is preterite first *singular*, as per Carruba (1984 18ff), contra Morpurgo Davies (1980b 97ff). There is no evidence for a CLuwian preterite second singular ending *-š*, contra Laroche (1959 24,82 & 142): the alleged examples are to be read as imperative second singulars plus the enclitic pronoun *-aš* 'them' (Melchert 2000a 181). Likewise there are no attested examples of a HLuwian second singular preterite ending /-s/: see Morpurgo Davies 1980b 88[5]. Both CLuwian and HLuwian show clear instances of a preterite third plural ending /-aunta/ (Melchert 1993a v), whose origin and distribution remain obscure.

The interpretation of CLuwian *wišita* as a preterite third middle 'has been pressed' (Melchert 1993a 270) is made unlikely by the appearance of the HLuwian cognate (PES_2)*wa/i-si-~wa/i-sa-i-*, a clearly intransitive verb (see Hawkins 2000 234). Its meaning 'come' or 'appear' would also fit the contexts of CLuwian *wiš(a)i-*. There are no assured examples of synchronic preterite middles in Luwian (cf. Yoshida 1993 and on the source of HLuwian preterite first singular /-han/ Melchert 1992b 196). On the second plural imperative active ending /-t/danu/* (attested as rhotacized *-ra+a-nu*) see Morpurgo Davies (1980b 92f). The only imperative middle forms attested are third singular *-aru*=/-aru/, CLuwian third singular *-ttaru*, and

[22] The ending /-i/ is sometimes spelled as *-ya* in HLuwian (e.g. *ta-ya* 'stands' beside *ta-i*). It is unlikely that this spelling represents a linguistically real variant (see Morpurgo Davies 1979 596-602).

third plural *-antaru**.[23] The 'voluntative' first singular *\kuwayatallu* in a Hittite context probably shows a Hittite ending, but *lilailu* in the context of *lilandu* (KUB 32.13,6-7) may show the genuine Luwian equivalent.

3.2 *Non-finite Forms of the Verb*

Luwian has an infinitive in *-una*=/-una/ and a participle in *-m(m)a/ī-*= /-m(m)a/i:-/. The latter inflects like an ordinary adjective with '*ī*-mutation'. HLuwian also has verbal forms in *-mi-na* which function as gerundives with deontic sense.[24]

4. *Word Formation*

4.1 *Word Classes*

Luwian words may be conveniently divided into two major groups: those that inflect (nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs) and those that do not (adverbs/adpositions, conjunctions, interjections). There are no useful formal generalizations to be made about the second set, and the formation of pronouns has been covered in section C.2. Nouns, adjectives and verbs may be usefully described in terms of stem plus ending. The stem consists of a root that bears the lexical meaning and usually one or more suffixes. Stems consisting of the bare root are relatively rare in Luwian. There are no sure derivational prefixes in Luwian (cf. section C.4.2, end). The following brief survey of nominal and verbal stem formation does not purport to be complete. Space limitations permit only minimal references to secondary literature.

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[23] On the form AUDIRE+*MI-ta+ra/i-ru* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §32) as third plural see Hawkins (2000 107), but the meaning is surely transitive: 'let the gods hear'.

[24] Against Morpurgo Davies (1980b 93ff) and Hawkins (2000 148 and passim) forms in *-mi-na* cannot be present first plurals, as shown by examples like that in the second KULULU lead strip, §1,6: 30 OVIS-*sa* [I]*ku-li-ya*...DARE-*mi-na* 'Thirty sheep (are) to be given to Kuliya...'. OVIS-*sa* can only be read as anim. nom. sg. /hawi:s/ and thus the subject, not the direct object. See in detail Melchert (to appear).

4.2 *Nominal Stem Formation*[25]

Luwian has only a few root nouns. The surest is the neuter 'heart': *zart-*=/tsard-/, on whose inflection see Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins (1988). HLuwian animate /waw(a)/i:-/[26] 'cow' and /tsuwan(a)/i:-/ 'dog' may be synchronic *a*-stems or root nouns.

Some animate nouns with a suffix *-a-* reflect old action nouns, such as *tāwa/ī-*=/dawa/i:-/ 'eye' < **sók^{w}o-* *'seeing', CLuwian *zūwa-* 'food' < **ĝyóuh$_x$o-* *'eating' or HLuwian /Hasa-/ 'abundance' < **h$_2$áso-* *'satiation'. Other notable stems with a suffix *-a-* include: CLuwian neuter noun *mī(ya)ša-* 'flesh' (Poetto 1995) and adjective *nāwa-* 'new', HLuwian neuter noun /pidá-/* (LOCUS-*ta/i$_{4/5}$-*) 'place', and animate *uššа/ī-*=/ussa/i:-/ 'year'. CLuwian animate *lāla/ī-* 'tongue' is but one example of reduplication, a widespread process that cannot be covered systematically here.

Extremely productive in Luwian is a suffix *-alla/ī-*=/-alla/i:-/ that forms adjectives from nouns: e.g. *dadalla/ī-*=/tadalla/i:-/ 'paternal' < *tāda/ī-*=/tada/i:-/ 'father'. Another adjectival suffix *-la/ī-*=/-la/i:-/ is seen in **šarla/ī-*=/sarla/i:-/ (SUPER+*RA/I-la/i-*) 'high' and CLuwian *ipala/ī-* 'left-hand'. Also productive is *-il(ī)-*=/-il(i:)-/ as in *ḫantil(ī)-*=FRONS-*lá/ī-* 'front-, foremost'.

A suffix *-ma/ī-* forms animate nouns from verbs: CLuwian *lalama/ī-* 'receipt' < *lāla-* 'to take, receive', *dušduma/ī-* 'manifest, voucher' < **du-šdu-* 'be manifest'. An older example of the same type is CLuwian *tarma/ī-* 'nail, peg'. Distinct is a suffix *-ama/ī-* that forms adjectives of appurtenance from nouns: ^{LÚ}*maššanāma/ī-*=/massanama/i:-/ (DEUS-*na-mi-(i)-* in TELL AHMAR 6, §22) '(one who) belongs to a god' (a type of priest) < *maššan(ī)-* 'god' and HLuwian /Tiwadama/i:-/ 'of the Sun-god' < /Tiwad-/ 'Sun-god' (after Arbeitman 1980). The preceding is not to be confused with the suffix *-m(m)a/ī-*=/-m(m)a/i:-/ that forms verbal participles (section C.3.2), which also is used secondarily to form possessive adjectives from nouns: *piḫamma/ī-*=/pihamma/i:-/ 'imbued with splendor' < **piḫa-* 'splendor' (Melchert 1993a 177 contra Starke 1990 314f).

A suffix *-na-* is seen in examples such as animate noun **targašna-*=/targasna-/ 'ass' < **dherĝhos-no-* *'having a burden' (after Janda

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[25] One should consult globally on this topic Starke (1990) and the review by Melchert, *HS* 105 (1992) 309-312.

[26] Stems inflected with '*i*-mutation' (see section B.1.3) will be so marked.

1999 194f) and HLuwian /Hi:lana-/* (PORTA-*la-na-*) (collective plural) 'gate-(house)' (base seen in Hittite *ḫīla-* 'courtyard'). The suffix *-anna/ī-* forms diminutives (CLuwian animate *armanna/ī-* 'lunula' < *arma-* 'moon' and also possessive adjectives that are then secondarily substantivized: ⸗*kantanna-* (collective plural) 'wheat-field' (base seen in Hittite *kant-* 'wheat').

A suffix *-ra-* deriving adjectives from nouns appears in CLuwian **ḫutra-/ḫutar-* *'agile, quick', the base of animate *ḫutarlā-* 'slave', < *ḫūta-* 'haste, alacrity' (see Eichner 1983 57ff). Likewise in the substantivized neuter *waššar-*=/wassar-/ 'favor' (on the phonology cf. Melchert 1993b). Also of interest are the 'oppositional' suffixes that derive adjectives from adverbs, as seen in **āppara/ī-*=/appara/i:-/ (POST+*RA/I-(i)-*) 'after-; later; younger' and CLuwian **nanuntarra/ī-* '(of the) present' and HLuwian /annantarra/i:-/ 'lower'.

In addition to the possessive suffix *-aššа/ī-*=/-assa/i:-/ we find a suffix *-(a)šḫa-*=/-(a)sha-/ that forms animate nouns (notably without '*ī*-mutation'): e.g. CLuwian *mar(ru)wašḫa-* (a mineral) < **marwa-* 'dark' (see on the suffix Starke 1979). A suffix *-aš(ša)ra/ī-*=/-assra/i:-/ (also with epenthesis *-ašt(ar)ra/ī-*=/-astra/i:-/—see section B.2.3) forms animate abstract nouns from adjectives: *ḫattašt(ar)ra/ī-*=/Hattastra/i:-/ 'violence' (thus with Neumann 1965 contra Starke 1990 384ff). For the origin of this suffix in compounds see the very end of this section. Quite distinct is the suffix *-aš(ša)ra/ī-*=/-assra/i:-/ that derives animate nouns referring to females: **nānaš(ša)ra/ī-*=/nanassra/i:-/ 'sister' < **nāna-* 'brother' (see Oettinger 1986c 122ff, following Szemerényi).

There are some examples of a suffix *-ta-*=/-ta-/ added directly to the root: animate *ašta-*=/asta-/ (*á-sa-ta-*) '(evil) spell, charm' (thus with Starke 1990 186 with note 613 contra Melchert 1987 185f; cf. Latin *astus* 'wile, cunning' with Neumann apud Tischler 1977 86). Likewise CLuwian animate *ḫūta-* 'haste, alacrity' < **h₂uh₁-to-* (Starke 1990 362ff). Fairly productive is a suffix *-t(t)a-*=/-t/da-/ that forms adjectives (often then substantivized) from nouns: CLuwian animate *ḫupparta/ī-* 'pelvis' (base seen in Hittite *ḫuppar-* 'bowl'); animate *ḫapāta/ī-*=/Habad/ra/i:-/ 'river-valley' < *ḫāpa/ī-* 'river' (false Melchert 1993a 55 and Starke 1990 514). See in detail Melchert (1999 368ff). A suffix *-tar-* (< **-tro-*) is weakly attested as forming neuter nouns: CLuwian *šāwatar* 'horn' (see Oettinger 1979a and Melchert 1993b) and HLuwian */i:star-/, the base of /i:starta-/ 'seat, throne' (with another example of denominative /-ta-/).

Very productive in Luwian is the suffix *-iya-*=/-iya-/ that derives adjectives from nouns: e.g. *tāti(ya)-*=/tadi(ya)-/ 'paternal' < *tāda/ī-* 'father'. This example shows deletion of the final *-a-* of the base noun before the *-iya-* suffix. We also find a type without such deletion: *kummaiy(a)-*=/kummaiy(a)-/ (PURUS+*MI-ya-*) 'pure, sacralized'.[27] See on this suffix Carruba (1982b), Melchert (1990), and for its use in place-names Starke (1997a 458). See also section D.3.

A productive suffix *-izza-*=/-itsa-/ forms adjectives from nouns, especially place-names: e.g. CLuwian ^{URU}*Taurišizza-* 'of Taurisa', HLuwian *Kar-ka-mi-si-za-*(URBS) 'of Carchemish'. A different suffix *-zza-*=/-tsa-/ forms adjectives and names of professions: e.g. CLuwian *wašḫazza-* 'sanctified, holy' and HLuwian animate /kummatsa-/ 'priest' (see Hajnal 1994 51 on the matching forms in Lycian).

As described in C.1.3, virtually all Luwian stems in *-i-* inflect synchronically according to the pattern of '*ī*-mutation'. Examples with a suffix *-i-* added directly to the root are few. One is *ḫāwa/ī-*=/Hawa/i:-/ 'sheep' (the original *i*-stem is reflected in the CLuwian derivative *ḫawiyašša/ī-* referring to a kind of bread, contra Melchert 1993a 66). More productive is a suffix *-i-* that forms animate substantives from adjectives: e.g. CLuwian *ānnari-* 'forcefulness, virility' < *ānnara/ī-* 'forceful, virile' (see further Melchert 1999 365ff). A suffix *-t(t)i-*= /-t/d(i)-/ derives animate nouns from verbs: CLuwian *kupiyat(i)-* 'plot' < *kup(iya)-* 'to plot', HLuwian /marad(i:)-/ 'order, injunction' (base seen in Lycian *mar-* 'to order').

CLuwian shows several examples of a suffix *-al-* that forms neuter nouns from verbs: e.g. ^{GIŠ}*ariyal-* 'basket' < *ariya-* 'to lift' (see Starke 1990 317ff).

Nouns with a simple suffix *-an-*=/-an-/ include animate *maššan(ī)-* =/massan(i:)-/ 'god' and neuter *ku(wa)lan-*=/ku(wa)lan-/ 'army'. Very productive is the suffix *-mman-* that derives neuter action nouns from verbs (see Starke 1990 260ff): e.g. CLuwian *tātariyamman-* 'curse' (base seen in HLuwian *tá-tara/i-ya-* 'to curse'). This suffix is the basis for the participial suffix *-m(m)a/ī-*, which in origin is **-mn-a-*. The suffix *-wann(ī)-*=/-wann(i:)-/ derives adjectives from nouns with the sense 'of the sort of': CLuwian *ānnawann(ī)-* 'step-mother' < *ānna/ī-* 'mother'. It is especially productive in forming adjectives from

[27] The addition of '*ī*-mutation' leads to contraction of /-iy-ī-/ to [-ī-] and probably of /-aiy-ī-/ to [-ay-]. Hence the shorthand indication of the stems as *-i(ya)-* and *-aiy(a)-*.

names for places: CLuwian ^{URU}*Ninuwawann(ī)-* 'of Niniveh', HLuwian /Assurawann(i:)-/ 'of Assur' (over twenty examples in HLuwian).

Starke (1990 433ff) has shown that 'heteroclite' neuter nouns are quite well attested in Luwian, contrary to previous claims. In addition to a few nouns with simple *-r/-n-* such as CLuwian *āšḫar~āšḫan-** 'blood' and HLuwian /lammar/*~/lammn-/ 'time', one also finds derivatives with the suffix *-ttar/-ttn-* (e.g. CLuwian *tarmattar~tarmattn-* 'fastening, nailing'). The suffix *-war/-w(a)n-* is directly attested in examples like CLuwian *guršawar~guršaw(a)n-* 'island' and more widely in indirect fashion in the infinitive *-una*=/-una/, which reflects an old dative-locative (originally allative) of such a noun.

Luwian attests a variety of neuter *s*-stems (see in detail Starke 1990 95ff): e.g. CLuwian *tappaš-* and HLuwian /dibas-/ 'sky, heaven' with suffix /-as/, CLuwian *ḫappiš-* 'limb, member' and HLuwian /tanis-/ 'stele' with /-is-/, and CLuwian *tāruš-* 'statue' with /-us-/.

Very productive in Luwian is the suffix *-it-*=/-id-/ that forms neuter nouns (see Starke 1990 151ff). First, it is used to derive nouns from native bases: e.g. *upatit-*=/ubadid-/ 'land-grant' (*'allotment' < *upa-* 'to allot' via **upati-*). Second, it is used to adapt loanwords, especially from Hurrian: e.g. CLuwian *natḫit-* 'bed' < Hurrian *natḫi-*. Finally, the complex suffix *-aḫit-*=/-ahid-/ is the productive suffix for forming abstracts from both nouns and adjectives: e.g. *ḫandawadaḫit-*=/Hantawadahid-/ 'kingship' < *ḫantawat(i)-*=REX-*wa/i-ta/i-* 'king'.

While the synchronic participle is that in *-m(m)a/ī-*=/-m(m)a/i:-/ cited above, one finds lexicalized participles in *-ant(ī)-*=/-ant(i:)-/: e.g. CLuwian *u(wa)lant(ī)-* 'dead' and HLuwian /miyant(i:)-/ 'abundant'. There are also some examples of a possessive suffix *-want-*: e.g. CLuwian *ašḫanuwant(ī)-* 'bloody'. On the ergative suffix see section D.3.

Stems in *-u-* include neuter nouns (*maddu-*=/maddu-/ 'wine'), animate nouns (^{NA4}*āššu-*=(SCALPRUM)/assu-/ 'stone pillar/column') and a few adjectives (CLuwian *aru-* 'high').

There are few attested compounds among ordinary Luwian nouns and adjectives. HLuwian REGIO-*ni*-DOMINUS-*ni-* 'country-lord' provides one example of a determinative compound. Another is probably (*481)*wa+ra/i-mu-ta-li-* (/wara-mu(wa)talla/i:-/) 'strong of sense/smell' (an epithet of dogs): cf. Hittite *pattar-palḫi-* 'broad of wing' (name of a bird). For the syntax underlying this type see D.3. The noun ^{NA4}*kuttaš(ša)ra/ī-*=/kutassra/i:-/ 'orthostat' may be analyzed

as a possessive compound *'having the form of a wall' (*kutt-* 'wall' as seen in Hittite plus **āš(ša)ra-* 'shape, image' cognate with Hittite *ēš(ša)ri-*): see Melchert (2002d). A similar analysis may be applied to the type of CLuwian *niwalla/ī-* 'innocent' < *'not having power, powerless', although one cannot exclude a synchronic negative prefix. The rich store of compounds in personal names cannot be explored here.

4.3 *Verbal Stem Formation*[28]

Verbal stems consisting of a bare root include *āš-~aš-*=/as-/ 'to be', *ī-*=/i:-/ 'to go', CLuwian *kuwar-~kur-* 'to cut', *tā-*=/ta:-/ 'to step, stand' (present third singular in *-i*—cf. C.3.1), and CLuwian *zī-* 'to lie' (with only medial inflection). As the first two examples demonstrate, CLuwian appears to preserve some examples of quantitative ablaut.[29] We also find reduplicated stems: e.g. CLuwian *ta-tarḫ-* 'to crush' or *na-na-* 'to lead'.

A few verbs add a suffix *-i(ya)-* directly to the root: e.g. *wall(iya)-*=/walli(ya)-/ 'to lift, exalt'. There are also some cases of a suffix *-nu(wa)-* with a transitivizing sense: CLuwian *ḫuinuwa-* 'to cause to run', HLuwian (SOLIUM)/isanu(wa)-/ 'to seat', (CRUS)/tanu(wa)-/ 'to (cause to) stand'. Rare but attested are stems reflecting an iterative suffix **-eye/o-*: *dūpi-~dūpai-*=/tu:bi:-/~/tu:bai-/ 'to strike' (see Melchert 1997b 135). HLuwian also has at least one reflex of a 'simple thematic' stem in **-e/o-*: /tama-/ 'to build' < **dém(h₂)e/o-* (Morpurgo Davies 1980b 261ff).

Luwian has several suffixes that derive verbs from nominal stems: *-i(ya)-* (*ḫarwanni(ya)-*=/harwanni(ya)-/ 'to send' < *ḫarwanna/ī-* '(little) path'); *-ā-* (CLuwian *tūrā-* 'to pierce' < ^{GIŠ}*tūra/ī-* 'spear', HLuwian (VASTUS)/tannata:-/ 'to devastate' < (VASTUS)/tannata/i:-/ 'empty, desolate'; *-ā(i)-* (CLuwian *patalḫā(i)-* 'to fetter' from a base seen in Hittite *patalḫa-* 'fetter'), *-nu(wa)-* (*urannu-*=/uranu(wa)-/ 'to make great' < *ura-* 'great'); and *-ī-~-ai-* (CLuwian *tarmī-~tarmai-* 'to nail down' < *tarma/ī-* 'nail, peg', HLuwian (274)/Hatalli:-~Hatallai-/ 'to smite' from a base seen in Hittite *ḫattalla-* 'club'). See in detail on

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[28] One should consult globally on this topic Oettinger (1979b 561ff).

[29] HLuwian orthography permits no conclusions on this point. Variants of 'to be' apparently without initial vowel (e.g. preterite third singular *sa-ta*) are almost certainly simplified variants of the spellings of the type **a-sa-ta* described above (pp. 159-161). They definitely are not reflexes of a prehistoric weak stem **h₁s-*.

denominative verbs Melchert (1997b). For the suffixes *-za-*, *-š(š)a-* and *-anna-* see D.6.

Most adverbs associated with verbs as preverbs remain syntactically independent (cf. D.1). There are some cases of compounds with the prefixes *aw-/u-* and *pa-*: *awī-*=/awi:-/ 'to come' vs. *ī-*=/i:-/ 'to go'; CLuwian *ūppa-* 'to bring' (= Hittite *uppa/i-*); *pīya-*=/piya-/ 'to give' (cf. HLuwian /i(ya)sa-/ 'to buy' and see Melchert 1989a 42ff with references).

D. SYNTAX

1. *Word Order*

A thorough study of Luwian word order has yet to be carried out. A *preliminary* investigation suggests that Luwian has most of the features established for Hittite. The unmarked order is 'S O V'. As usual in such formulas, 'O' stands not for the direct object alone, but for all elements of the predicate save the verb. The sentence negation and preverbs appear immediately before the verb. When both are present one finds both Preverb Negative Verb and Negative Preverb Verb. An indirect object precedes the direct object, while locatives (including adpositional phrases) follow it. The status of time expressions and ablative-instrumentals needs further study. Attributive adjectives and demonstratives regularly precede their head noun, as do adnominal genitives in HLuwian. However, postnominal adjectives and demonstratives are far from rare in HLuwian. A functional difference in the ordering is not easy to discern (cf. e.g. SULTANHAN, §§2 and 8). Indefinite adjectives follow their head noun.

Most enclitics (notably anaphoric pronouns, various particles, and some conjunctions) follow 'Wackernagel's Law': i.e., they are attached to the first accented word in the clause (including sentence-initial conjunctions). There are three exceptions to this rule. First, *-ḫa*=/-ha/ 'and' conjoining nouns or verbs naturally may occur wherever these constituents appear (for an example with verbs see SULTANHAN, §16). Second, while clause-linking *-ḫa*=/-ha/ 'also, and' is attached in the vast majority of cases to the first word, it can appear later in the clause (e.g. ÇİFTLİK, §15). Third, the local particle *-tta*=/-ta/ occasionally appears attached to a dative-locative within the clause: *aštummantanza-ta* (KUB 9.31 ii 25) and /ami(ya)nts-ta/ (KARATEPE, §XXX, 151).

The order in 'enclitic chains' is fixed: conjunction *-ha* or *-pa*, quotative particle *-wa-*, dative or reflexive pronoun, nominative or accusative pronoun, and finally local particle: e.g. *ARHA-pa-wa/i-tú-wa/i-tà-ta* (/arHa-pa-wa-du-ada-ta/) (ALEPPO 2, §18). For the reflexive and dative pronoun before nominative see respectively /wa-ri(y)-as-ta/ (ASSUR letter f+g, §51) and /wa-m-as-ta/ (BOR, §6). For reflexive before accusative see *tūrin-ti(y)-an kuiš ada* 'The one who has made it a spear for himself' (KBo 13.260 ii 22) and MARAŞ 4, §9 (cited in D.7). Note that this order contrasts with that in Hittite.

As in Hittite, any constituent of the sentence may undergo 'fronting' either to absolute initial position or the position immediately following a sentence-initial conjunction (plus enclitics). These two positions are functionally equivalent. This process surely involves some kind of topicalization, but a more precise characterization is not yet possible. Surprisingly, as in Hittite, one occasionally finds fronting of *two* elements in the same sentence (e.g. KARATEPE, §§VI and XXXVII). Luwian may also 'extrapose' any constituent except the verb to the right of the clause-final verb. Here one must distinguish extraposition of an appositional element (*á-wa/i+ra/i-ku-sa-wa/i* REL-*i-na* MAGNUSi+*ra/i-nu-wa/i-ta* <u>*á-TANA-wa/i-ní-i-sá*(URBS) REX-*ti-sá*</u> 'whom Awariku, <u>King of Adana</u>, made great' (KARATEPE, §II), from 'right-dislocation', which moves one of the arguments of the verb and which in the case of subject or object requires 'clitic-doubling': *tāīn-ti(y)-<u>ata</u> malli aiyaru <u>tapāruwa ḫīrūta tatarriyamna</u>* 'Let them, the *t.*, oaths and curses, become oil (and) honey' (KUB 9.6+ ii 12-13). Note that here there has also been fronting of the predicate nouns. See D.2 and D.6 for more examples.

2. *Agreement*

Attributive adjectives agree with their head noun in gender, number and case, and likewise predicate adjectives with the subject. Cardinal numbers greater than one may take either singular or plural: 5-*na-'* ("*78")*a-ru-ti-na* 'five baskets' and 4-*zi* ("*78")*a-ru-ti-zi* 'four baskets'. As seen in the last example cited in the preceding section, a collective plural subject takes a singular verb (*aiyaru tapāruwa...*). This is also attested in HLuwian (SULTANHAN, §14 and ASSUR letter e, §12). In the case of multiple subjects, the verb is often singular, agreeing with the nearest subject, as does any predicate adjective: *a-ata*

halāl āšdu zā parnan-za ḫūḫḫuršantinzi DINGIR.MEŠ-*inzi*... 'Let them be pure, this house, the *ḫ.* gods...' (KUB 35.54 iii 26ff).

3. *Use of Cases*

The nominative is the case of the subject and its modifiers and of predicate nouns and adjectives in nominal sentences and with 'linking' verbs such as 'to be' and 'to become'. The accusative marks the direct object of transitive verbs. A double accusative with 'to make' is attested (KARATEPE, §III). One also finds 'partitive apposition' (or the 'accusative of respect') with body parts (KUB 35.45 ii 21ff & KARKAMIŠ A7a, §3, KULULU 5, §11, etc.). The accusative is also used for extent of time (KARATEPE, §LXXIV).

As shown by Garrett (1990a), Luwian like Hittite shows 'split ergativity'. A neuter noun cannot function as the subject of a transitive verb, but must be replaced by a special ergative form (singular /-antis/, plural /-antintsi/).[30]

As per section C.1.2, CLuwian expresses possession entirely by means of adjectives (with suffixes *-aššа/ī-* and *-iya-*). Not only is the noun expressing the possessor converted into an adjective, but so also are any nouns or adjectives that modify it. All show agreement with the ultimate head noun: e.g. *ta-ni-ma-si-na* REGIO-*ni-si-na'* INFANS-*ni-na* 'a child of every country' (see Neumann 1982). In HLuwian, where the genitive case may also be used, one finds mixed constructions: *á-ma-za tá-ti-ya-za* ^{l}*á-za-mi-sa a-ta$_5$-ma-za* 'my father Azami's name' (BOYBEYPINARI 2, §18). See Melchert (1990 203ff) for further even more remarkable examples.

The dative-locative expresses goal with persons and objects and location with objects. It also expresses the person affected by an action, including the one from whom something is taken. As in Hittite, this usage is also sometimes extended to objects, in competition with the ablative-instrumental (cf. KARKAMIŠ A6, §§27-28, HAMA 4, §8). There is one example of the dative-locative used for the object of an

[30] That this is fundamentally a grammatical feature, not one of semantic 'animacy', is shown by an example like KUB 35.54 ii 49ff, where *only* the neuter nouns for 'house' and 'statue' are replaced by the ergative, not the semantically equally inanimate words for 'pediment', 'hearth' and 'earth'. This is not to deny that, as in Hittite, the ergative is also occasionally used for genuine cases of personification, such as KUB 35.39 ii 14-15, where heaven and earth are to wash their mouths.

infinitive (so-called 'double dative'): *za-ti* "CASTRUM"-*si* AEDIFICARE+*MI-na* 'to build this fortress' (KARATEPE, §XL).

The ablative-instrumental is used to express 'from' with both objects and sometimes also persons (cf. KARKAMIŠ A6, §30). It also marks relative location and direction: *ipalāti…išarwilati* 'to the left...to the right', ("OCCIDENS")*i-pa-ma-ti* (DEUS.ORIENS)*ki-sà-tama-ti* 'to the west (and) to the east'. This is also surely the sense of the forms of the personal pronouns: *tu-wa/i+ri* 'to(wards) you' (ASSUR letter f+g, §10), *u-za-ri+i* 'for/on your part'. The ablative-instrumental also expresses means, accompaniment and the agent with a passive participle: (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-ti-i* (LOQUI)*ta-tara/i-ya-mi-sa i-zi-ya-ru* 'let him become cursed by the Storm-god' (KARKAMIŠ, A2+3, §24).

4. *Adpositions*

Luwian regularly has postpositions with the dative-locative. Attested are: /annan/ 'under' (SULTANHAN, §9 etc.), /parran/ 'before' (spatial and temporal) (KUB 35.55,10 etc. and CEKKE, §10 etc.), /sarri/ 'over' (KARKAMIŠ, A6, §11 etc.), /tawiyan/ 'towards, facing' (KUB 35.107+ iii 8, KARATEPE, §V etc.), CUM-*na/i* 'with, for' (read /katan/?), *336-*na-na* 'among'? (KARKAMIŠ A6, §24 etc.). Prepositions are rare: *annān pātanza* 'under the feet' (KUB 35.39 iii 29—cf. B.2.5), *šarri tappašī* 'above heaven' and *šarri tiya<m>mi* 'above earth' (KUB 7.53+12.58 i 58-59), and PRAE-*wa/i á-mu* 'before me' (ASSUR letter e, §31). Postpositional phrases may be broken up by movement rules like 'right-dislocation' (KARATEPE, §XXI) and 'fronting' (ALEPPO 2, §25).

5. *Use of Pronouns*

The accented personal pronouns are used only for emphasis or contrast. As noted in C.2.1, some dative enclitic personal pronouns also serve as reflexives. As in Middle and Neo-Hittite (see Hoffner 1969), so also in Luwian nominal sentences and sentences with the verb 'to be' require a reflexive pronoun when the subject is in the first or second person: HLuwian *a-mu-wa/i-mi* plus personal name 'I (am) So-and-so', *wa/i-ma-za u-zu-za ha-tu-ra+a a-sa-ta-ni* '*You* are to write!' (ASSUR letter e, §6); CLuwian ˹*zunnimiš-ti* ˹*mannaimiš* 'you (are) a *z. m.*' (KUB 44.4+ Vo 16). The use of enclitic *-mi* as a

dative in the 'Istanuwian songs' (cf. A.1, end) supports the suggestion of Eichner (1974 68[16]) that this usage is derived from an 'ethical' dative.[31] Again as in Hittite, the enclitic reflexive may also be used to underscore a change of state: cf. CLuwian *-ti...āyari/u* 'becomes/ let become' vs. HLuwian simple *i-zi-ya-ru* 'let become' (cf. Hittite *kiš-* 'become' with or without *-za*).

Enclitic subject pronouns occur only with a subset of intransitive verbs (so-called 'unaccusatives'). See Garrett (1990b) and (1996) for a description of the corresponding facts in Hittite. Enclitic subject pronouns never cooccur with transitive verbs. Apparent exceptions to this rule are a matter of false syntactic analysis. Direct object pronouns are occasionally omitted (ASSUR letter b, §10 etc.). That this feature is especially prominent in the ASSUR letters may reflect their more colloquial register, but further study is needed.

Iteration of a relative pronoun gives a generalizing sense: REL-*i-sa* REL-*i-sa* 'whosoever' (anim. nom. sg.), REL-*i-ta* REL-*i-ta* 'where-soever'. For more on the syntax of the relative-interrogative see D.9. The indefinite /kwisha/ 'some/anyone' is used with a preceding nega-tive to mean 'no one'. Repeated /kwisha/.../kwisha/ means 'the one ...the other' (e.g. KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§19-20).

6. *Use of Verbal Categories*

The use of person and number requires no special comment (on subject-verb agreement see D.2). The present tense is used for present and future time, for general statements and prescriptively ('shall __'). The preterite serves for the simple past and for the perfect. The latter is particularly frequent in CLuwian rituals where it describes an act that has just taken place (cf. *tappatta* 'has (just) spit' in KUB 35.45 iii 24 with preceding Hittite context). The adverb *zāwi(n)* 'here, voici' may be used to make explicit this perfect with 'present relevance': *zawi(y)-aš wišita ḫalāliš taluppiš* 'It has (just) appeared, the pure lump' (KUB 32.9+ Ro 3 with parallels), [*a*]*-tta laḫunīḫa* 'I have (just) washed...' (KUB 35.54 iii 37). See Hoffner (1968) for this use of *kāša/kašma* in Hittite.

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[31] The introduction of the enclitic forms *-mu, -tu,* and *-tu* as datives would have severely restricted the use of those with *i*-vocalism, leading to their synchronic analysis as reflexives, including in the special use in nominal sentences. The Hittite usage may be explained as a borrowing from Luwian.

The middle voice indicates that the action of the verb is subject-oriented. Some intransitive verbs referring to bodily motion inflect only in the middle (CLuwian *zī-* 'to lie'), others in both the active and the middle (cf. CLuwian *dādduwar* beside HLuwian *ta-i* 'to step, stand'. Some transitive verbs may also appear in the middle: CLuwian *aztūwari* 'to eat' and HLuwian AUDIRE+*MI-ta+ra/i-ru* 'to hear'. No direct examples are attested for the middle expressing the passive, but this use is implied by the use of the middle of 'to make' to mean 'to become' (see examples under D.1 and D.3).

The indicative mood is used for statements of fact and also sometimes prescriptively ('shall __'). In the first and third person the imperative expresses more a wish of the speaker than a direct command. It is also possible that the second person plural form AUDIRE+*MI-ta-ra+a-nu* combined with REL-*i* in ASSUR letter e, §7 is a wish '(Would) that you might hear...'.

The basic Luwian verbal stem can express either perfective or imperfective aspect according to context. Cf. *niš dādduwar* 'don't step' (KUB 9.31 ii 26) with "CRUS"-*i* (/ta:i/) 'stands, lasts' (KARATEPE, §LXXV) or *ta-ma-ha* 'I built' (KULULU 1, §3) with *ku-ma-na* AEDIFICARE+*MI-ha* 'while I was building' (KARKAMIŠ A11a, §14). Like Hittite (see Melchert 1998), Luwian may also optionally mark a finite verb explicitly as imperfective with one of the suffixes *-za-* or *-š(š)a-*. The particular manner of action ('Aktionsart') expressed by a given example results from the interplay of the context and the lexical aspect of the verb. We have examples for 'durative' (*ta-za-tu* 'let last/endure', KARATEPE, §LXXIV, parallel to simple "CRUS"-*i* cited above), 'iterative' (*kuiš-an šaḫḫaniššatta kuiš-an ippatariš<š>atta* EN SÍSKUR-*aššin* 'whoever has repeatedly imposed *s.* on him, whoever has distrained him, the ritual client', KUB 35.45 ii 21-22), 'distributive' (**a-wa/i-mu *a-mi-zi ta/i$_4$-ta-ni-zi-' pi-pa-sa-ta *a-mu-pa-wa/i ta/i$_4$-na-za-'* NEG$_2$ *pi-ya-ta* 'She gave my enemies to me, but me to my enemies she did not give', KARKAMIŠ, A23, §§4-5), and 'inceptive' (*\kappilazzata* 'became hostile, angry', KUB 14.8 i 23), and 'progressive' *kāša* EGIR-*pa tiyaneššwi* 'I am re-__ing', KUB 7.53 ii 12).[32] The contexts of the very few examples of the suffix

[32] For the inceptive value of *kappilazza-* cf. the Hittite equivalent with dative plus *kartimmiyaz kišat* (KBo 14.12 iv 5 and KUB 14.8 i 37). The base verb with stative meaning is attested in Hittitized *kappilā(i)-* 'be hostile'. The force of Luwian

-anna- are too unclear to determine whether this suffix, like its Hittite cognate *-anna/i-*, also had been grammaticalized as a marker of the imperfective.

There is no evidence in Luwian for an analytic perfect matching the Hittite type with *ḫar(k)-/ēš-* plus participle. A 'serial' use of 'to go' is securely attested in CLuwian in KUB 35.102+ ii 11ff. More dubious is the CLuwian example for 'to come' (KUB 25.39 iv 9-10) and that for 'to go' in HLuwian (TOPADA, §8).

Participles may be used attributively or predicatively. As in Hittite, a participle in the nominative may also be used to mark a circumstance surrounding the action of the main verb (see KULULU 2, §3). All infinitives are dependent on a main verb or predicate: e.g. 'give to eat and drink' (ÇİFTLİK, §16), 'enter to worship' (KARKAMIŠ A31+, §8). The infinitive plus /ta-/ 'to step' is used to mean 'begin to __' (e.g. KARATEPE, §XLVIII)—cf. Hittite infinitive plus *tiya-*. In the ASSUR letters the dative-locative of a verbal noun /Hatura/ is used predicatively with a deontic sense (see ASSUR letter e, §6, cited above in D.5, and Morpurgo Davies 1980b 91). For the similar use of 'gerundives' in *-min(a)* see C.3.2 with note 24.

7. *Negation*

The negation for declarative sentences is *nā(wa)*=/na(wa)/. Prohibition is marked by *nīš*=/ni:(s)/. The form of the verb is usually imperative in HLuwian, but the indicative is attested (*ni-i-'*...("*69")*sa-si* 'Do not abandon...' in ASSUR letter f+g, §12). CLuwian shows at least one example each with the indicative and the imperative. Noteworthy is the use of a double negative in HLuwian to express 'do not fail to' (ASSUR letter d, §10 and f+g, §26). As expected, one occasionally finds negation of an element other than the predicate: *wa/i-ti-ya-ta* NEG$_2$-*a-ha tá-ti-i-sa* NEG-*a-ha* AVUS-*ha-sá sá-ta* 'Neither my father nor my grandfather __ed it to himself' (MARAŞ 4, §9). See globally on this topic Hawkins (1975).

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tiyaneššwi is assured by its pairing with Hittite *elaneškemi*, the *kāša* (see Hoffner 1968) and the context.

8. *Questions*

Yes-no questions are probably marked only by intonation in Luwian.[33] In written texts they can be identified only by context, and the status of some examples naturally is a matter of debate. A number of reasonably secure cases appear in the ASSUR letters, such as c, §2: *á-pi-wa/i-za ha-tu-ra+a* 'Are we to write again?'. In negative questions the negative may be fronted (e.g. ASSUR letter a, §6), but the far more plentiful evidence of Hittite suggests that this device is not a consistent indicator of a question versus a statement.

Wh-questions show so-called 'wh-movement', by which interrogatives must be fronted: REL-*sà-'-wa/i-sa-' a-zi-sa ha-tu-ra+a-sa* 'What is it, our letter?' (ASSUR letter f+g, §9). As in the case of relatives (see D.9 below), this fronting is then sometimes obscured by the fronting of some other element ahead of the interrogative: (*205)*á-tu-ni-na-wa/i-mu* REL-*za* NEG_2-*' ma-nu-ha* VIA-*wa/i-ni-ta* 'Why did you not send me at all the *a.*? (ASSUR letter a, §7).

9. *Subordinate Clauses*

Simple conditional clauses are introduced by *mān* in CLuwian, by REL-*(a)-ti*~REL+*ra/i* (/kwadi:/~/kwari:/) in HLuwian. Iterated *mān... mān* is used in both to mean 'whether...or'. The form *kuwatī(n)*= REL-*(a)-ti*~REL+*ra/i* (/kwadi:/~/kwari:/) is used in both to mean 'as' (in CLuwian sometimes correlated with *apatī(n)* 'thus,so'—cf. Hittite *maḫḫan...apeniššan*). HLuwian REL-*(a)-za* (/kwan-tsa/) is definitely used to mean 'because' (also interrogative 'why?'), and REL-*i* (/kwi/) is definitely employed as 'when'. Other meanings for these such as 'although' or 'that' remain possible (cf. Hawkins 2000 127 and 129).

The syntax of relative clauses in Luwian shows the same features as those established for Hittite by Garrett (1994), following Held and Hale. The relative pronoun undergoes fronting by 'wh-movement'. In preposed determinate relative clauses (at least) one constituent is obligatorily fronted to the left of the relative pronoun. In indeterminate relative clauses the relative pronoun appears first in the clause (not counting sentence-initial conjunctions with or without enclitics).

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[33] The unexpected final long vowel in *āttanī* (cf. note 17) may reflect such question intonation. See Melchert (1994 107) with references to Watkins and Ivanov on such a phenomenon in Hittite.

This pattern is seen in KARKAMIŠ A1a, §§30-35: *a-wa/i* REL-*i-sa* OVIS(ANIMAL)-*si a-wa/i za-a-ti-i* STATUA-*ru-ti-i* OVIS(ANIMAL)-*na* (LIBARE)sa_5+*ra/i-li-i-tú* REL-*i-sa-pa-wa/i* (PANIS)*tu*+*ra/i-pa-si-i* **a-wa/i-tú* (PANIS)*tu*+*ra/i-pi-na* (LIBARE)sa_5+*ra/i-la-ta-za-ha* PES_2(-)*pa*-(-)PES_2-*ya-tú a-wa/i i-zi-i-sa-ta-i* REL-*i-sa* **a-pa-pa-wa/i-ta za-a-zi* DEUS-*ní-zi-i*... 'Whoever is (a man) of sheep, let him consecrate a sheep to this statue, while whoever is (a man) of bread, let him __ bread and a libation to it. The one who does honor (to it), him these gods...'. The same contrast appears in CLuwian: cf. *tūrin-ti(y)-an kuiš ada* 'The one who has made it a spear for himself' (KBo 13.260 ii 22) vs. *kuiš-tar malḫaššaššanzan* EN-*ya ādduwala ānniti* 'Whoever does evils to the lord of the sacrifice...' (KUB 9.6+ iii 25-26).

Preposed relative clauses are resumed by enclitic anaphoric pronouns where appropriate (this is not possible for subjects of transitive verbs—cf. D.5) or by a form of *apa*-. The latter is often fronted in HLuwian, as in the example cited. For the use of conjunctions in relative constructions see D.10.

Non-restrictive relative clauses follow their main clause: e.g. ^{d}*Annarummienzi ašḫarnuwanta kuinzi waššantari* 'Oh A.-gods, who wear bloody garments' (KUB 9.31ii 22-23). For a HLuwian example see KARATEPE, §§1-2.

10. *Non-subordinating Conjunctions*

Common to both CLuwian and HLuwian are the enclitic conjunctions *-ḫa*=/-ha/ and *-pa*=/-ba/.[34] The first conjoins clauses with an additive force that may apply to a variety of circumstances. The same subject may repeat an action (KARKAMIŠ, A15b, §§8-9). The same subject may perform different actions (KARATEPE, §XIVff or KARKAMIŠ A1a, §25ff). Different actions may be performed on the same object (KARKAMIŠ A6, §§2-3). In some cases, however, the logical connection between the clauses may be of a looser sort (KARATEPE, §III-VIII).

The use of enclitic *-pa* is entirely parallel to that of Hittite *-ma* (for which see Güterbock and Hoffner 1980-89 91ff). It conjoins clauses that stand in a complementary relationship. This value is clearest in cases of alternatives, such as KARKAMIŠ A1a, §30ff (cited in D.9)

[34] The consistent single spelling of the initial stop after vowel in CLuwian shows that the stop is voiced or 'lenited'.

or iterated /ma:n...ma:n-pa/ 'whether...or'. For CLuwian examples see KUB 35.54 ii 33-34 and iii 17-21. The line between additive and complementary actions is not a hard and fast one, and it is interesting to note the cases where one version of KARATEPE uses /-ha/ while the other uses /-ba/ (e.g. §§VIII and XIV).

On the other hand, it is also a short step from complementary to contrastive or even adversative. Hence the nearly fixed collocation *nānum-pa* 'but now' in CLuwian (the contrast with the past being essentially inherent). A very clear adversative example is 'She gave my enemies to me, but *me* (**a-mu-pa-wa/i*) to my enemies she did not give' (KARKAMIŠ A23, §§4-5, cited in full in D.6). It is important to stress, however, that 'but' is not an inherent meaning of *-pa*.

The contrastive value of *-pa* is also seen in its use to introduce new topics (e.g. KUB 35.45 iii 22 or KARATEPE, §LIX). However, *-pa* by no means always introduces entirely new topics. Like Hittite 'anaphoric' *-ma*, *-pa* is also used to highlight a previously mentioned element that is to be further described or defined (cf. Güterbock and Hoffner 1980-89 96). See e.g. TİLSEVET, §§5-6. HLuwian often uses this device in resuming relative clauses: **a-pa-pa-wa/i-ta* '(The one who does honor) *him* (these gods...)'—see the full citation in D.9 above.

Both CLuwian and HLuwian employ sentence-initial *a-*=/a-/, whose function appears to be roughly that of Hittite *nu*. It is used to introduce the resumptive clause to a preposed relative (KUB 9.6+ iii 26, BULGARMADEN, §11) and the main clause following other types of subordinate clauses (EMİRGAZİ altars, §21). It links prosecutive actions in past narrative (KUB 35.107 iii 11ff, YALBURT, passim), in ritual actions just performed (KUB 35.54 ii 35ff) and series of imperatives (KUB 35.54 ii 49 - iii 11). Only CLuwian has sentence-initial *pā*, whose usage largely overlaps with that of *a-*. It introduces resumptive clauses to preposed relatives (KUB 9.31 ii 25). It links prosecutive clauses in past narratives (KBo 29.25+ ii 11-12 and KBo 12.100 Ro 1ff—in the latter the parallelism with Hittite *nu* is explicit) and in other series of actions (KUB 35.102+ iii 1ff). One difference between *a-* and *pā* is that only the latter may occur alone without clitics (KUB 9.31 ii 32, 32.9+ Vo 31).

The apparent use of the quotative particle /wa/ as a sentence-initial conjunction in HLuwian is almost certainly a mirage. As per Hawkins (p. 159ff in this volume), spellings such as *wa/i-mu-a* in second-millennium texts (e.g. YALBURT 2, §§2-3) stand for /a-wa-mu/ with

expected sentence-initial conjunction /a-/. Likewise in forms of the verb 'to be', the demonstrative stem /aba-/, and forms of the first person pronoun and possessive adjective: *sa-tu-a* = **a-sa-tu* /astu/ (EMİRGAZİ altars, §21), *pa-ti-a* = **a-pa-ti* /abadi/ (SÜDBURG, §18), and *mi-sa-a* = **a-mi-sa* /amis/ (EMİRGAZİ altars, §4). This practice continues in texts of the early first millennium. Later spellings such as *wa/i-na* or *sa-ta* are surely mere simplifications of *wa/i-na-a* = **a-wa/i-na* and *sa-ta-a* = **a-sa-ta*. CLuwian assures us that both the conjunction *a-* and the verb 'to be' are accented, making true loss of the initial *a-* highly implausible. Since the spelling patterns appear to be entirely parallel for /aba-/ and /amu/~/ama/i:-/, it is quite unlikely that there is genuine aphaeresis in these either.

Disjunction is usually marked in HLuwian by /ni:pa/ 'or' (rarely /napa/). The negation /ni:/ also occasionally is used alone for 'or' (e.g. KARATEPE, §LXXI). One also sometimes finds REL+*ra/i-pa* 'or' (KARAHÖYÜK, §22). See in detail Morpurgo Davies (1975).

11. *Local Particles*

Both CLuwian and HLuwian make frequent use of the particle *-tta*= /-ta/ that may be compared with Hittite *-(a)šta* both etymologically and functionally (see Josephson 1972 419 and 1995 170ff).[35] Its basic sense may be said to be to mark passage from one spatial domain across a boundary into another domain. In a given instance the focus may be on the starting, mid-, or end point of the complex movement. The full range of meaning of *-tta* may be seen in KUB 35.54 iii 17ff: *wār-ša-tta* ÍD-*ti nanamman...wār-ša-tta zīla* [ÍD-*i*] *anda nāwa iti* 'Water (is) led from the river...the water henceforth does not go back to the river.' CLuwian has a second local particle *-tar*, which in some cases is equivalent to Hittite *-šan* (KUB 9.31 ii 24 ~ ibid. i 38). See Josephson (1976 174) and especially on the combination *kuiš-tar* Watkins (1995 150f).

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[35] The fact that CLuwian *-tta* often is equivalent to Hittite *-kan* reflects the spread of the latter in Hittite in place of *-(a)šta*. Since there is no trace of *-kan* in Luwian, we cannot exclude that *-tta* has conversely extended its usage there to functions originally filled by *-kan*. A full study of *-tta* is needed, especially in HLuwian.

CHAPTER SIX

ASPECTS OF LUWIAN RELIGION

MANFRED HUTTER

A. INTRODUCTION

'Text is not religion' is a well-known methodological principle in the study of religions, and one also might say 'language is not ethnicity'. When defining Luwian religion we have to rely upon both—namely *texts* in Luwian *language*, mainly from the second millennium BCE, because for this period the best-known Luwian topic is language. Judging from this philological and linguistic background we find some kind of Luwian 'identity' across southern and southwestern Anatolia, and there we have to seek Luwian culture. Sometimes it seems as if such a proper culture tries to escape our grasp: up to the present our knowledge about the Luwians comes almost exclusively from sources which have been found within the political units of the Hittite empire. Onofrio Carruba (1995b 63) mentions that the Luwians, though extending from the Aegean sea to Kizzuwatna and northern Syria, do not seem to have a culture or history of their own. It appears that language alone allows us to talk of Luwians at all. Maybe this lack of understanding is partly due to our own mis-comprehension of Luwian history. Another reason why they partly escape our comprehension is that parts of the Luwian population possibly were not sedentary, but only half-sedentary (cf. Forlanini 1998 224). We further have to be aware that almost all the written sources at our disposition have not been found within the Luwian lands proper but mostly in the Hittite capital Hattusa. Therefore these sources may be limited, as they were preserved only in case they were of some (special) interest for Hittites—and not for Luwians in the first instance. Therefore describing Luwian religion has to consist in large part of reconstructing Luwian religion.

1. *Defining 'Luwians' chronologically and geographically*

Our earliest traces of Luwian lead us back to the 18th century BCE when texts in Old Assyrian language from Kültepe-Kanesh already mention some Luwian names and words; also Hittite rituals from the Old Hittite period show already some Luwian features. Furthermore, the Hittite laws (§§5,19-21,23) clearly tell us about contacts between the Luwian lands in (south)western Anatolia and the Hittites. Thanks to the efforts of Frank Starke (1985) it has become clear that the earliest texts in Cuneiform Luwian (= CLuwian) date from the 16th century, while the earliest Hieroglyphic Luwian (= HLuwian) seal inscriptions date back to the 15th century. For the historian of religions it is also worth mentioning that from the Old Hittite period onwards also within Hittite texts we can find motifs belonging to Luwian religious and magical traditions. The earliest ones stem from the Kizzuwatna area.[1] We can therefore establish a time-span of Luwian religion of about 400 years focusing on Cuneiform Luwian—and to a minor degree, also Hieroglyphic Luwian—texts (cf. Hawkins 1995a with appendices 1-3) and references to Luwian religion in Hittite and Hurrian texts. After the collapse of the Hittite empire cuneiform sources disappeared, but HLuwian texts from southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria (Hawkins 2000) give some further information, showing continuity and change within Luwian religion in this area until the 8th century. Up to the present there are no HLuwian texts of the post-Empire period for western Anatolia which could highlight the continuity of Luwian religion in that part of the country. From Lycian texts, which date to the 5th and 4th centuries, we can detect that some aspects comparable to Luwian religion continued also in Lycia.[2]

Even if we assume that Luwians are occupying large parts of southern and southwestern Anatolia during the second and first millennia, not all these areas are Luwian centers to the same degree. Running from the west to the east we should at least distinguish the following areas—not only according to their political role but also to their contribution to our understanding of Luwian religion.

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[1] Cf. Taracha 2001 692 pace Starke 1985 275, who suggested that Luwian magical rituals only can be dated from the Middle Hittite period onwards.

[2] For one recent corpus of Lycian texts see the online version by H. Craig Melchert at http://www.unc.edu/~melchert/lycian.pdf.

The Arzawa lands clearly mark the center of western Luwia (Carruba 1995b 64; Starke 1997a 450ff; Bryce 1998 54f with refs), with Arzawa proper as the core of this area. As early as the middle of the second millennium Arzawa was an independent state as is shown by Tarhuntaradu's letters to the Egypt pharaoh Amenhotep III (Klengel 1999 131-134). During the reign of Mursili II the Arzawan lands however are incorporated into the Hittite realm, namely Mira-Kuwaliya, the Seha River Land and Hapalla.[3] Most recent findings and the reading of the inscription of the rock monument at Karabel by John David Hawkins (1998b) demonstrated that this monument might mark the northern frontier of Mira. The discovery of rock inscriptions at the Latmos mountains gives the fragmentary names of princes of the land of Mira (Peschlow-Bindokat—Herbordt 2001): therefore we can now judge with certainty that Mira spread across the Maeander valley, thus fixing one of the geographical parameters for western Anatolia. These Arzawan lands can be considered as the largest and most populous region of Luwian settlements in western Anatolia,[4] and the cults practised there were not influenced by Hattian or Hurrian background. The same seems to be true for the Lukka lands covering the mountainous areas of later Hellenistic Lycia and Caria (Steiner 1993; Bryce 1998 55-57 with refs; Keen 1998 214-220; Klengel 1999 263-65).[5] The Lukka lands were less an organized political entity than a conglomerate of communities, possibly partly half-sedentary.

Turning closer to central Anatolia—but not crossing the Marassantiya (= Halys = Kızıl Irmak)—we come to the 'Lower Land' (Bryce

[3] I can leave aside the question whether Wilusa should be identified with Homeric Troia or not, as the texts referring to Wilusa give nearly no information on Wilusa (cf. section E.1.). At present—I think—we should not take the HLuwian seal from the second half of the 12th century found in Troia as a direct proof that Luwians inhabited Troia or that Luwian was spoken there as recently has been assumed by Starke (1997a 458). Neumann (1999 16-19) has given good arguments that the local language of Troia might have been an Anatolian one, not belonging to the southern branch of these languages (CLuwian, HLuwian in the second and first millennia; Lycian, Carian, Sidetic in the first millennium), but rather to the 'northern' offshoots such as Palaic, Hittite or first millenium Lydian.

[4] Cf. also the recently found HLuwian seal at Metropolis in Ionia from the end of the 13th century or even later (Schachner—Meriç 2000 89-95).

[5] But cf. also Otten 1993, who points out that the linguistic connection between Lukka and first millennium Lycia may hold good. However, judging from the scanty texts referring to Lukka in Hittite sources, Otten favors a location of Lukka in the (south)west of Anatolia but not bordering the Mediterranean or Aegean sea, thus not equating geographically Lukka with later Lycia.

1998 50 & 163f) with its Luwian population, and also with other people, e.g. Hurrians since the middle of the second millennium. The Lower Land had already been incorporated into the Hittite kingdom during the Old Hittite period. It was some kind of buffer against the Arzawan lands. During the later Middle Hittite period the Lower Land was captured by Arzawa until Suppiluliuma I could restore the Lower Land to Hatti. Generally speaking, in the Lower Land throughout Hittite history we find components of Hittite and Hurrian culture mixing with Luwian ones. Among the main centers we would like to mention only Tuwanuwa, Hupisna, Landa and of course Tarhuntassa. Though the precise localization of the cultic center Istanuwa is still unknown, it may have been located perhaps in the western part of the Lower Land. Within this region we not only find local cults which can be attributed to Luwians, but also after the collapse of the Hittite empire we find local Luwian states like Tabal preserving the older traditions (cf. Starke 1999a 528f; Hawkins 2000 425-33).

Another important region for Luwian religion is Kizzuwatna. Here we find—as Volkert Haas and Gernot Wilhelm (1974 5-7; cf. Gurney 1977 16) have shown—a vivid symbiosis between Luwian and Hurrian (and northern Syrian) cults which exerted heavy influence on official cults within the Hittite empire from the 15th century onward (Wilhelm 1982 98ff). Thus we have a bulk of ritual and religious texts from Hattusa that can be traced back to religious traditions of Kizzuwatna, being either Luwian or Hurrian. Therefore these sources provide further materials for Luwian religion, as this border land between Anatolia and Syria not only has large segments of Luwian population during the period of the Hittite empire, but Luwian speaking and writing people lived on there until the first millennium. When we compare Kizzuwatna with the Arzawan lands, we find that Luwian traditions are here intermingled with northern Syrian and Hurrian concepts from at least as early as the middle of the second millennium. Because of Hittite expansion to Kizzuwatna and Syria, Kizzuwatna was much more at the crossroads of various ideas than Arzawa. Therefore we find less 'pure' Luwian traditions here than in the western parts of the Luwian settlements in Anatolia.

So I will conclude for the moment: Luwians are a substantial factor in Anatolia from the 18th century, spreading from the southwest across the south of Anatolia as far as Kizzuwatna and north of the Taurus to the shores of the Halys river. In Kizzuwatna as well as in

the plain of present-day Konya Luwians also mingled with Hurrians and Hittites. Against such a background, I take those traditions as aspects of Luwian religion that can be located within this relatively large region *and* that can—according to textual sources—be attributed to Luwian language or show philologically Luwian features. In addition—to use a negative definition—these traditions have to differ from Hurrian or Hattian traditions also found partly in or at the margin of this region.

2. *Defining Luwian Religion as a religion of its own*

Luwian religion covers more than one thousand years, but this outline will focus mainly on the period contemporary with the Hittites. Within this chronological context one must not only consider the contacts of Luwians with other people living in Anatolia at that time. The possibility of outside influences on Luwian religion should also be considered. While the Luwians may show some common features with Indo-European religion (and Luwian religion seems to be closer to early Indo-European thought than 'Hittite' religion), from an early date Hattian and Hurrian elements can also be detected penetrating into Luwian religion. Even in the Old Hittite period there are traces of Hattian elements within Luwian religion which hint at early contacts between these two peoples. It can be supposed that the Luwians met their Hattian fellow people in central Anatolia. From the Old Hittite period a steady influx of northern Syrian and Hurrian origin also reached Luwian culture, starting geographically in Kizzuwatna and thus bringing—partly through Luwian intermediaries—Hurrian cults and culture also to the Hittite capital (cf. recently Taracha 2000 212; for a fuller treatment of such contacts see Haas—Wilhelm 1974). Due to such religious contacts there are 'cultic strata' discernible within 'official Hittite' religion, serving sometimes the needs of individual groups within the Hittite empire or the political need to apply official cults to a multi-ethnic society.[6] But our analysis will fall short if such influences are only interpreted in terms of cultic strata, because even religions in contact preserve their own religious systems. The main question that is still to be answered is

[6] In his history of Hittite religion Volkert Haas (1994a) has dealt also with the various local cultic centers, including the Hurrian regions and northern Syria to a large degree. But it is astonishing that Haas has widely neglected the Arzawan lands and the question of Luwian religious concepts.

whether it is possible to trace Luwian religion as a system of its own or whether we can only gain an awareness of a Luwian cultic stratum as an inseparable part of 'Hittite religion'. This would be comparable to the case of the Hattian cult about which Jörg Klinger (1996 753f) has concluded that we cannot detach Hattian cults as an entity of their own from the Hittite cult. I think it is another case with the Luwians—and even the Hittites made the distinction between their own gods and the gods of the others. And the same has also to be adopted for Luwian religion in general, in opposition to Hittite religion.

Already in the oldest Hittite historical account, the Anitta text, we can find an aspect of Hittite theological thought, namely a distinction between Hittite gods—labeled as 'our god(s)' (*šiuš-šummiš*)—and gods of the others—labeled as 'their god(s)' (*šiuš-šmiš*), as Itamar Singer (1995) has pointed out. Partly such other gods became integrated into the pantheon of the Hittite cult, but such a distinction between foreign and autochthonous gods also leads to the possibility that foreigners were not allowed to enter (some) Hittite temples. The instructions for priests and temple officials, a text which seems to go back to the time before the reign of Suppiluliuma I, gives the following prohibition (KUB 13.4 ii 14ff; McMahon 1997 218): 'If a guest comes to anyone, if he (the host) in order to go up to the temple normally crosses the threshold of the god [or the king, that] one (the host) may [take] him up. He may eat and drink. If, however, he is a [forei]gner, if he is not a native of Hattusa and he approaches the gods, [he will die]. And it is a capital offence for whoever takes him in.' We do not know the reasons why such a foreigner was forbidden to approach the gods. That other people—in this case the Kaskeans—cannot revere Hittite deities in the proper way is said by Arnuwanda and Asmunikkal in their prayer concerning the ravages that met Hittite cult centers through the Kaskeans (KUB 17.21 i 1-3. iii 8-16; Goetze 1969 399): 'The land of the Hittites is a land [that is devoted] to you, the gods. In the land of the Hittites we are accustomed to present to you pure and really [holy] sacrifices. In the land of the Hittites we are accustomed to show you, the gods, reverence...They (the Kaskeans) also scattered your cattle and your sheep. They shared out among themselves your fields and lands, the source of the sacrificial loaves and the vineyards, the source of the libations. Those the Kaskeans took for themselves. Thus it has come about that in

those countries no one invokes the names of you, the gods, any more; no one presents to you the sacrifices due to you for (each) day, (each) month, and for the course of (each) year; no one celebrates your festivals and pageants.' Looking for further features of distinction between 'Hittites' and 'foreigners' concerning religious matters, we could mention the SU-oracle in KUB 16.16 obv. 23'-28': Some *dammara*-women did not purify themselves after having sexual intercourse with men from Arzawa before they went up to the temple to do their religious service. But their sin was even greater, not only because they entered the temple in an impure state, but because their impurity resulted from their contacts with the foreign Arzawan men.

Thus we can conclude that from a Hittite theological point of view 'foreigners' had partly another set of morals and religious values, as is also indicated in some treaties (cf. Cohen 2002 168 with refs). Therefore they also could not revere Hittite gods in the right manner. But the other way round, 'foreign' gods also did not belong to the 'Hittite' pantheon in a strict sense. This idea is clearly documented by a number of Hittite treaties (cf. Singer 1994 93-96): among the lists of divine witnesses of the contract, always in the first instance and with many details a list of the gods of Hatti is given and then in an abbreviated form the list of the gods of the contracting party. It is a pity for the historian of religions that these lists usually only mention very few proper names of gods and end with the general formula 'all the gods of the land of so-and-so'. The god lists start usually with the innermost circle of the political sphere of the Hittite empire and then proceed to the gods of the 'outer' sphere. Depending on historical developments the gods of the contract partners could be incorporated into the Hittite state pantheon, but they nevertheless were always considered as a separate entity. Concerning the Luwian gods we have even to go one step further: according to the god-list in Muwattalli's prayer to the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* the gods of the Arzawan lands and of Lukka have not been incorporated within the list of the Hittite empire—though Lukka and the Arzawan lands had clearly been a part of the Hittite empire during that time (Singer 1996b 175-177; Hutter 2001a 226). But the gods of Kizzuwatna and the Lower Land with Tarhuntassa figure within this list as part of the Hittite gods. Thus our geographical limits given above for defining Luwians are confirmed: Luwian religion of Arzawa and Lukka is to be kept apart from Hittite religion while elements of Luwian religion

in the Lower Land, Tarhuntassa and Kizzuwatna also found their way into the Hittite cult.

As a starting point in defining 'Luwian religion', Maciej Popko (1995 91) can be quoted: 'The Luwians inhabited vast territories in the south and southwest of Asia Minor and were divided into a number of communities. Also their religious beliefs do not constitute a uniform complex, but comprise many local systems...The Old Hittite period has yielded a number of Luwian cult rituals addressed to the main gods of the Hittite state. And Luwian gods in turn are observable in Hittite religion from the Middle Hittite period on. It is possible to make a distinction between these two religions only to a certain degree, primarily in the geographical and linguistic aspects.' The main arguments for such a working definition have been explained with some details above, providing a framework for reconstructing aspects of religious concepts and practices. But presently it is far from possible to describe Luwian beliefs in full.

B. The Gods of the Luwians

1. *General outline*

The common Luwian word for god is *maššan(ī)*-, whose corresponding Lycian form is *mahan(a)*-, as was pointed out by Emmanuel Laroche (1980 1f). The noun (also written logographically DINGIR$^{(MEŠ)}$-) and its derivatives (Melchert 1993a 142-144 with refs) is used as general term for 'god'/'deity' or 'divine'. Within a festival for Huwassanna (KBo 14.89 i 3) also one cultic functionary among others is mentioned, the ^{LÚ}*maššanāma/ī*-, but his precise cultic function is far from being clear at the moment. Of special interest is also the once attested divine name *Kuišḫamaššani* 'any god', who was a female deity as Hans Gustav Güterbock (1983 210) has suggested and who was connected with grapes and wine (KUB 38.25 ii 8). Also worth mentioning is the divine name Urammassani (KBo 20.118 ii 5), the 'great god', who has a shrine in the temple of Nubadig where the king makes offerings during the *išuwa*-festival (Haas 1994a 858). But there is nothing more known about this deity. Perhaps a similar general designation of a god, which became a 'name', can be seen in Urza-massani (KUB 46.17 iii 1; VS NF 12.1 obv. 12), and we can analyze this divine name also as the 'great god', with a shortened

form of *urazza-* ('great') in the first part of the title, which became the god's 'name'.[7] Also in personal names we find this general Luwian word for god—just to mention the most important examples. Within administrative lists found in Hattusa there is a certain ^{m}DINGIR^{MEŠ}.GAL (KUB 31.62 i 10). The same name (not the same person) is also written phonetically as *Maššana-ura* in several seals (cf. Laroche 1966 No. 774). With the female name ^{f}*Anni-maššani* (Laroche 1966 No. 72) in KUB 31.59 ii 31 the title of the female cultic functionary ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, the 'god's mother', can also be compared. As a personal name we find *maššan(ī)-* also in the onomasticon of HLuwian, e.g. the scribes' names Masani and Masanazami[8] at KARATEPE 4, §2 (Hawkins 2000 69f) or names in the KULULU lead strips, e.g. a certain Masani of the town Tunna (Hawkins 2000 509ff). In seeking the Luwian perception of 'god' we can conclude for the moment that within the Luwian language we find a terminology different from that in Hittite. The common Hittite expression for 'god', *šiu(ni)-*, not only has cognates in other Indo-European languages, meaning 'light'; but the Indo-European root of *šiu-* is also attested in the Luwian divine name Tiwad. While Hittite *šiu(ni)-* is god in general, Tiwad is the Sun-god. For the history of Anatolian religions I think this difference is most important: of course, Hittite and Luwian religion share a lot of common perceptions, but in the most central place in religion, the 'god', the two languages use totally different words. As a result we can conclude that it is necessary to concede that the Luwians had their own gods who were to some degree also theologically different from the Hittite ones.

Giving first an overview, we find the following Luwian gods (for refs see van Gessel 1998; 2001 s.v.; Melchert 1993a s.v.): Arma, Assiya, Ayanti, Hapantaliya, Huwassanna, Ilali, Ilaliyant-, Immarniya, Immarsiya, Inara, Innarawant, Iyarri, Iyasalla, Kamrusepa, Kinaliya, *Kuišḫamaššani*, Gurnuwala, Kurunta (LAMMA), Maliya, Marwainzi, Pirwa, Santa, Siuri, Suwasuna, Darawa, Tarwalliya,

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[7] One might also mention the Hittite epithet *šalliš* DINGIR^{LIM} in KUB 9.34 iii 28 for the god of Landa. Though in Hittite, the ritual has clearly elements of Luwian religion, cf. Hutter 1988 38f & 123f. Within a Luwian ritual a DINGIR^{LUM} *RABÛ* and the Sun-goddess of the earth act side by side (KUB 35.107 ii 11f; Starke 1985 237).

[8] W. Röllig apud Çambel 1999 70 also points to the name msn^{c}zmš in the Phoenician inscription from Cebel Ires Dağı A/B line 1.7.8 and C 2; the correct reading of this name is without doubt Masanazami.

Tarhunt, Tiwad, *tiyammaššiš* Tiwad (Sun-goddess of the earth), Uliliyassi, Uramassani, Urzamassani, Utiyanuni, Walippantalla/i, Wandu, Warwaliya, Waskuwatassi, Winiyanta, Wistassa/i, Zilipura. Alongside such gods with individual names also mountains and springs or rivers were considered as divine among the Luwians, a common idea shared with their contemporaries in Anatolia. I take these gods as 'Luwian' either because they are named within Luwian contexts or their name might indicate a Luwian origin. Not all of them are of the same importance, as a significant number only occur once in a limited context, as is the case with the gods in the cult of Istanuwa. They are evidently only of local importance for Istanuwa as will be seen later (section C.2.1.). In some other cases (cf. Uramassani above) it is not clear whether we find the name of an individual god or only a divine epithet. Some other god-names I did not incorporate in this list, like Siwata, which is a Hittitized form of Tiwad. Of greater importance is the exclusion of some gods of Hurrian (in some cases—originally—Mesopotamian—background): Ea, Hebat, Nergal (U.GUR), Nubadig, Sharruma, Shaushka. They are surely part of Luwian cults and receive offerings in festivals, but they do not yet belong to a Luwian pantheon in the strict sense in the second millennium.[9] For the history of Luwian religion it is also noteworthy that some of these gods are already mentioned in the Old Assyrian sources from Kanesh-Kültepe. These 'gods of Kanesh'—Pirwa, Ilali, Darawa, Assiya, Kamrusepa—are the earliest witnesses for a Luwian pantheon (cf. Gurney 1977 13; Popko 1995 89; Taracha 2000 188).

2. *Tarhunt and Tiwad: gods of all Luwians*

2.1. *The Storm-god*

The main Luwian god was the Storm-god Tarhunt. The verbal base of his name is comparable to Hittite *tarḫu-* 'to conquer, to overcome' thus Tarhu(wa)nt being the 'conquerer'. Norbert Oettinger (2001 474; cf. Starke 1990 136ff) has argued recently that the Anatolians were aware of their inherited Indo-European Storm-god **Perk^{w}uh$_3$no-*

[9] In the first millennium Hebat and Sharruma had become 'Luwianized' as we see from HLuwian inscriptions at Tabal or Kummani, where we find similar god-lists mentioning them (ÇİFTLİK, KULULU 5; ANCOZ 9), cf. Hawkins 2000 359 & 485f; Hutter 2001b 179f.

('the one with oak-trees'). They did not preserve the old name but coined in Anatolia the new epithet **tr̥h₂w-ent-* 'conquering' which sounded close to the name of the Hattian Storm-god Taru. Among the Luwians the epithet became the proper name of the overwhelming and victorious Storm-god Tarhunt. The god's name is also well attested within Hieroglyphic Luwian (Savaş 1998 47-63)[10] and lives on as *Trqqas/Trqqiz* in Lycian (Laroche 1980 3; Melchert 1989b 72 & 118; Keen 1998 201f with refs) and also in the onomastics of Anatolia until Hellenistic times (Houwink ten Cate 1961 125-128 with refs; Zgusta 1964 §§1512 & 1603).

Concerning the rank of the Storm-god in the Luwian pantheon our knowledge is poor. The treaties of Hittite kings with the Arzawan lands unfortunately have not preserved the lists of divine names as witnesses for the treaty which would have provided us with the hierarchy of the 'official' pantheons. Only the treaty of Muwattalli II with Alaksandu of Wilusa mentions as the first among the gods of Wilusa the Storm-god of the army (KUB 21.1+ iv 26). In one of the plague prayers of Mursili II the Storm-god of Arzawa is invoked (KUB 14.13 i 16) and a festival text from the time of Hattusili III mentions the Storm-god of Kuwaliya. We may conclude that these Storm-gods are mentioned because they were then the main 'official' gods of Arzawa respectively Kuwaliya. Other Storm-gods are either local manifestations or they are especially characterized by some epithets.

One of the Storm-god's attributes is his might or strength, therefore he receives the epithet *muwattalla/ī-* (in Hittite also written with the Sumerogram NIR.GÁL) 'overpowering, mighty' (Starke 1990 173f), which also lives on in local Luwian states after the fall of the Hittite empire. Of special importance is the archaic (late 12th cent.) HLuwian inscription KIZILDAĞ 2 (Hawkins 2000 438): 'Beloved (??) (of) the mighty Storm-god, the Sun, Great King Hartapu'. Maybe to the 11th (or 10th) century dates the inscription KARKAMIŠ A4b, §4 (Hawkins 2000 80): '(To) Ura-Tarhunza the King the mighty Storm-god and Kubaba gave a mighty courage.' Without doubt, 'might' was seen as a distinctive feature of Tarhunt by the

[10] Despite the misreading and repetition of many entries from different (and also highly dated and wrong) publications the book of Savaş has to be taken into account as the only reference work for Hieroglyphic Luwian names, covering the available materials almost fully.

Luwians. This also allows us to reconstruct two further characteristics of the god, namely he is the one who brings help to his followers but also brings revenge to evildoers. Frank Starke (1990 155) refers to a 'helping storm-god' (^{D}U *warraḫitaššaš*) and one is also reminded of the god who 'runs in front' to help the king. This formula which is known from Hittite also lives on in Luwian contexts, as we can see e.g. in TOPADA, §17 (Hawkins 2000 453; cf. Hutter 2001b 175). But the Storm-god can also punish (Starke 1990 478 with refs) if his cult is not performed properly. Also in curse-formulas we find the god striking his enemies, an idea which stills lives on with the Lycian *Trqqas*.

The just mentioned features are of course important for the Luwian Storm-god, but bringing revenge or help is also a feature of other Storm-gods. One special aspect has still gone unmentioned. In contrast to the Hurrian Storm-god whose chariot is drawn by bulls, the Luwian god has a horse-drawn cart. The close relationship of the Storm-god (but other gods, too) to horses is worthy of note. Volkert Haas (1994a 88) is surely right in focusing his attention on the fact that most of the gods related to horses can be found in Cappadocia and southeastern Anatolia. Perhaps this might even reflect some general Indo-European heritage which might also be shared by the Mittani-Aryans.[11] Thus we find a central mark of the Luwian Storm-god separating him from other Anatolian Storm-gods. Within the ritual of Uhhamuwa from Arzawa against a plague the horses of the god are mentioned (HT 1 ii 34ff; Collins 1997 162; Haas 1994a 83 mistakenly attributes this ritual to Zarpiya from Kizzuwatna): 'Afterward they bring fodder for the god's horses and sheep fat, and they recite as follows: "You have harnessed your horses. Let them eat and let them be satiated. Let your chariot be anointed with this sheep fat. Turn toward your land. O Storm-god, turn in friendship toward the land of Hatti".' A remote echo of Tarhunt's connection to horses even can be seen in Hellenistic times when once the god Trikasbos is mentioned in a Greek inscription (TAM II 13; cf. Neumann 1979 265; Starke 1995 119 with fn. 241) accompanied by the image of a horse with a rider.

[11] For the famous Kikkuli text see recently Starke (1995 114-116 & 127f) who admits general knowledge of horse training on the part of the Mittani-Aryans but minimizes the influence of this knowledge in the Kikkuli text.

There are also local forms of the Storm-god. The most important one is the Storm-god *piḫaššašši*, the Storm-god of lightning. The combination of a Storm-god and thunder or lightning here leads to one important god who even enters the Hittite pantheon, as Muwattalli II made the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* his personal god. In Muwattalli's prayer to this god we read the following lines (KUB 6.45 iii 25-31; Singer 1996b 40): 'Thereafter the king says as follows: Storm-god of lightning, my lord, I was but a mortal, (whereas) my father was a priest to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to all the gods. My father begat me, but the Storm-god of lightning took me from (my) mother and reared me; he made me priest to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to all the gods; for the Hatti land he appointed me to kingship.' That Muwattalli is addressing the Luwian god here also becomes clear some lines later on, when we read (iii 68-70; Singer 1996b 42): 'Storm-god of lightning, glow over me like the moonlight, shine over me like the Sun-god of heaven'. Although the comparison with the moon seems at the first glance to be of general nature only, it is worth mentioning that the word *armuwalašḫa-* in iii 68 and the verb *wantai-* in iii 70 are of Luwian origin. Also bearing in mind the importance of the Moon-god Arma in Luwian, we can conclude that we are dealing here with some reference to Luwian religion within Muwattalli's personal choice of this god (cf. further Hutter 1995 79-86; Singer 1996b 185-189). This Storm-god is one of the local Luwian gods expressing the special relationship of the god with lightning, as his epithet is a derivative of Luwian noun *piḫaš* 'shining, lightning', which in a wider semantic range also means 'powerful' (Starke 1990 103-106). Some of the cultic centers of this Storm-god—within the border of the Luwian lands—are at Tunna, where a *kuwappal-*, maybe some cultic utensil (Starke 1990 317), is given to the god, also at Hissashapa, Parsa, and Tarhuntassa (cf. Haas 1994a 326). There exists still another Luwian Storm-god of lightning (^{D}U *piḫa(i)mmi*) who cannot be identified with the first one because both are mentioned side by side in the Ulmi-Teshub Treaty (KBo 4.10 obv. 53) or in a cultic inventary text from Karahna (KUB 38.12 iii 18f). Both Storm-gods of lightning thus are local manifestations of Tarhunt whereby the former one became wider known and was even integrated in Greek epic as Pegasos by Hesiod. That Pegasos is also horse-shaped is a further reflex of the above-mentioned connection of the Luwian Storm-god with horses (Hutter 1995 91-95).

Another interesting feature of the Luwian god can be seen in his connection with vineyards—though fertility in general can be easily linked to any Storm-god who together with lightning and thunder brings rainy seasons. The Middle Hittite ritual KUB 43.23 invokes the Storm-god of the vineyard (Haas 1988 134f). Vine and fertility are connected with the Storm-god also in other festival texts (e.g. KUB 35.1) with Luwian spells and songs. The close connection of the Storm-god with grapes and grain lives on to the first millennium, as can be seen from various reliefs from the region of Tabal in the 8th century. Tarhunt as the god of Tabal and Tuwana provides then fertility, grain and wine, and his main cultic center perhaps can be found at the Göllüdağ (Berges 1998/99 43; Schirmer 2002 214-216; cf. further Şahin 1999). Also some Hieroglyphic inscriptions refer to these attributes of the Storm-god. In SULTANHAN, §2 & 22 (Hawkins 2000 465f) we read: 'I set up this Tarhunt of the vineyard (saying): ...Tarhunt shall make this vineyard grow, and the vine shall grow.' In a similar way Warpalawa, whose favorite god had been Tarhunt (Berges 1998/99 42) said according to the stele from BOR, §§3-4 (Hawkins 2000 520): 'I myself planted this vineyard and this Tarhunt of the vineyard I set up.' We therefore may conclude that according to climatic conditions the Luwian Storm-god had close ties to vineyards, as they were especially cultivated within that area of Anatolia where Luwians settled.

In conclusion we can consider the Storm-god as the most important god of the Luwians, bringing with his lightning rain and fertility, which also made him a god of vineyards. Though he can be interpreted as a general god of the Luwians, he was also worshipped in local centers or with local aspects throughout Luwian history.

2.2. *The Sun-god*

The male Sun-god Tiwad had a similar rank for all Luwians. The name can etymologically be linked to Indo-European **diēu-* meaning '(sky) light'. While Hittite developed a general semantic 'god' (*šiu-*) or 'day' (*šiwatt-*) from this root, the Luwians (and Palaians) made this word the basis for the Sun-god's name, Tiwad among the Luwians and Tiyad among the Palaians (Carruba 1970 75). Because of the apposition *tāta/ī-* 'father' to Tiwad (e.g. KBo 9.143 iii 10; KUB 35.107 iii 10; cf. Watkins 1993 469) we surely know that Tiwad was male. The importance of a male Sun-god demonstrates that Luwian

religion is somehow different from the early religious beliefs of the Hattians and the Hittites, where we find the female Sun-goddess Estan (Klinger 1996 141ff) or Hittitized Istanu. The divine name is also attested in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus (Savaş 1998 67-71) but not in Lycian. We can conclude from a personal name like Tivda in Lydian (Zgusta 1964 §1569; cf. Starke 1990 150) that the Luwian god did not become totally obscure in western Anatolia in the second half of the first millennium.

According to the text KBo 9.127+ (Starke 1985 241) Tiwad is the husband of Kamrusepa and their son is the Tutelary Deity (^{D}LAMMA) of Taurisa. This Tutelary Deity is also attested in a Kizzuwatnean ritual and celebrated at the 32nd day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival together with Assiya (KUB 2.8; cf. McMahon 1991 38; Starke 1990 453). Another goddess of the circle of Tiwad is Hapantaliya. Recently Volkert Haas (2002 145f) has argued convincingly that Hapantaliya is the goddess of shepherds and her name seems to be derived from the Luwian word *ḫāwa/ī-* 'sheep' (cf. also Ofitsch 1998). For his interpretation Haas refers to the variant of the divine name as *Ha-wa$_a$-an-ta-li-i* in Hattian texts with an interchange between /w/ and /p/. The shepherds' goddess Hapantaliya looks after the sheep of the Sun-god in the Telipinu myth (KUB 17.10 iii 3ff; Hoffner 1990 16). Haas draws the interesting conclusion that the integration of the Luwian goddess in the Hattian cultic stratum is a further example for early contacts between Hattians and Luwians (Haas 2002 146).

A minor group of Luwian deities associated with Tiwad are the Ilaliyant-deities (Hutter 1988 125f). The earliest references to them we find already in the pantheon of Kanesh, and they correspond to the Palaic Ilaliyantikes (Carruba 1970 57). In a ritual of the Luwian 'Old Woman' (^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI) Tunnawiya the Sun-god sends them to harm the patient for whose recovery the (healing) ritual is carried out (KUB 9.34 iii 35-38). In a fragmentary mythological text they also are mentioned. After the disappearance of the Sun-god some animals were afflicted with evil and then the Ilaliyant-gods had to give some oracle, possibly as an auspicious message. So we can conclude that they are some minor deities associated with the Sun-god, but usually only acting when something negative has to be performed. Maybe also the Ilali (KUB 35.111 iii 9; cf. KUB 48.99 obv. 14) can be mentioned here, but there is nearly nothing known about these gods.

One word must be said about the Sun-god of Lusna.[12] In KUB 17.19 i 9 we read about his festival: EZ]EN ^{D}UTU-*li-ya* ^{URU}*Lu-uš-na a-ni-ya-an-te-eš* (Laroche 1971b 183). René Lebrun (1995 252) has suggested a hypothetical reading for ^{D}UTU-*li-ya* as a divine name *Šawaliya or *Hawaliya, comparing it with the Greek Helios. This must remain highly speculative and presently it is surely more likely to take ^{D}UTU-*li-ya* as an adjective *tiwaliya*, derived from the Sun-god's name (cf. Starke 1990 375 with fn. 1353 and Melchert p. 181 in this volume).

The position of the Sun-god to mankind can be ambigious, as we may deduce from his epithets. In the ritual of Kuwattalla, the Old Woman offers a sheep, uncooked meat and some thick bread—and every time she invokes *ḫirutalliš Tiwaz* 'the Sun-god by which one swears' or 'the Sun-god of the oath' (KUB 35.78 obv. 8ff; Starke 1985 134). On the negative side the god also curses evildoers. The verb *tiwadani(ya)-*, which is an obvious denominative from the god's name, is attested several times within rituals (Starke 1990 147 with fn. 467; Watkins 1993 470), e.g. in the following one (KBo 31.6 iii 8ff; Starke 1990 254): 'Words of Mashuiluwa: When the tongue of [...] or blood(shed) or ... the (sun-god's) curses (*tiwadaniyamman*) reach a person, I treat him as follows.' We do not know the precise purpose and the contents of the ritual, but the 'author' Mashuiluwa has the same name as the famous Mashuiluwa in KUB 5.6. Though we cannot prove the identity of both persons, Mashuiluwa in KUB 5.6 had cursed Mursili II, and he has ultimately to perform a ritual to purify himself (and the Hittite king). Perhaps we may conclude that the ritual KBo 31.6 iii 8ff had its historical setting within the Mashuiluwa affair, too (cf. Klengel 1999 194f; Hutter 2001a 228) and does not only show Luwian ritual practice, but also illustrates the function of Tiwad as judge who curses evildoers. Whoever transgresses his oath or the command of the Sun-god therefore will be cursed by him who on his daily journey across the sky recognizes everything men do. Though the idea of the Sun-god as a divine judge is well-known in the Ancient Near East we may not only carry over this interpretation also to Tiwad but can also deduce it from his epithets.

[12] Cf. further for the Luwian pantheon of Lusna KBo 7.66 iii 6-8, mentioning the following gods: Suhili, Muhili, the Storm-god, the Tutelary Deity (Starke 1985 360).

It appears that the Sun-god generally is closely connected with mankind—at least for the Luwians in the first millennium, as the title (DEUS)SOL-*mi-sá* CAPUT-*ti-i-sá* (KARATEPE 1, §I) indicates. The title has been translated traditionally as 'the sun-blessed (?) man', but this cannot be assured with certainty (Hawkins 2000 58; cf. Röllig apud Çambel 1999 58). Within the HLuwian corpus we find this title ten times and once as a personal name (SOL-*wa/i+ra/i-mi-sá*; CEKKE, §17i). The word is best understood as '(devoted) to the Sun-god', thus marking a concept of a close connection between the Luwian Sun-god and mankind. The god cares for his people and blesses them, but also curses those who do not behave in the right way.

As mentioned above, in central Anatolia the Hattian Sun-goddess Estan held a high position. The Luwians had their own Sun-goddess of the earth (*tiyammaššiš* Tiwad), who probably originated not in the western Luwian region but in Kizzuwatna (cf. recently Taracha 2000 179 with refs). In a longer passage of one of Kuwattalla's rituals the Sun-goddess of the earth and the Sun-god above are invoked together by the Old Woman on behalf of the patient (KUB 35.45 ii 25-27; cf. also KUB 35.48 ii 19-23; Kammenhuber 1986, 88f): 'If he is living, Tiwad shall deliver him above; if he is dead, the Sun-goddess of the earth shall deliver him, the man of curse and perjury'. That the Sun-goddess of the earth is competent to remove all kinds of evil is very well-known in Luwian religion. This motif, too, had found its way to Hittite religion since the Old Hittite period, mainly from Kizzuwatna. The Kizzuwatnean background of the Luwian Sun-goddess of the earth made it possible for this goddess to be identified with the Hurrian Allani and in this syncretistic way then also to attain her famous rank in later Hittite texts (cf. Torri 1999 94-98).

3. *Some further male gods: Arma, Santa,* LAMMA

Besides the Hattian Kasku and the Hurrian Kushuh we find in Anatolia also the Luwian Moon-god Arma. His worship seems to have been restricted nearly exclusively to the Luwians, focused more in the (south)western parts of Anatolia, while in Kizzuwatna the Hurrian Moon-god Kushuh and the local Moon-god of Harran were dominant, who also entered the cult of Tarhuntassa (KUB 56.13 rev. 23; Haas 1994a 374). Rituals to facilitate pregnancy or birth-giving sometimes refer to the Moon-god (cf. KUB 35.102 ii 11 & iii 1), but they also mention some distress which can be caused by this god, as

a mythological passage within the ritual KUB 44.4+ rev. 1ff shows (Beckman 1983 177). Generally speaking, the Luwians shared the idea that there is a connection between the Moon-god and the months of pregnancy (cf. also Zeilfelder 1998 438-440&443ff). The importance of the Moon-god is also reflected by a number of Luwian personal names (Laroche 1966, no. 131-142), e.g. Armati, who authored two rituals together with his mother Anniwiyani (cf. section C.1.). The popularity of Arma did not cease in the first century when he—according to a number of proper names—was worshipped in Pamphylia and Cilicia as well as in Caria and Lycia (Houwink ten Cate 1961 132; Zgusta 1964 §§97.355; Neumann 1979b 263-265; Lebrun 1987 244f). Judging from references in the Hieroglyphic inscriptions (Savaş 1998 3-5), the first millennium also brought some change in the history of Luwian religon. In the eastern parts of the Luwian territory Arma clearly lost ground against the Harranean Moon-god (KAYSERİ, §16; SULTANHAN, §31).

Santa (Kammenhuber 1990 191-193; Melchert 2002e 241-243; Polvani 2002) is attested within the onomasticon of personal names from Kültepe and directly attested in the well-known ritual of Zarpiya where he and the Innarawantes-deities are invoked (HT 1 obv. 29-34; Collins 1997 163): 'Come, Santa! Let the Innarawantes-deities come with you, (they) who are wearing bloodied (clothes), who have bound on (themselves) the sashes (?) of the mountain dwellers, who are girt (?) with daggers, who hold strung bows and arrows. Come and eat! We will swear (an oath).' In the Luwian version of this ritual, Santa is accompanied by the Annarummenzi-deities, the 'forceful ones'. The god is best characterized as a warrior god.[13] Other sources show a close association of Santa with Iyarri, who was definitely a war-god. Both Santa and Iyarri are also accompanied by the Marwainzi-deities, the 'dark ones'. As a war-god Santa can be dangerous to his enemies, and therefore it makes sense to derive his name as a participle from *šā(i)-* 'being angry'. In general his power is positive for his followers, as also can be assumed for his role in Hieroglyphic texts: He is invoked to protect the funerary stele of a certain Panuni together with the Marwainzi-deities (KULULU 2, §6; Hawkins 2000 488; cf. BEIRUT, §3). That

[13] I think it is wrong to connect his name and character historically to the Indian god Skandha (pace Carruba 2000 52).

Santa lives on until Hellenistic times is long known (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961 136f; Zgusta 1964 §1370; Lebrun 1987 247), identified by Greeks with Heracles and by Arameans with Baal of Tarsus. In southwestern Anatolia Santa and even the Marwainzi-deities (as Marivda; Melchert 2002e 242 with fn. 9) were known to the Lydians and Santa possibly even to the Lycians as *Hãta- (TL 44a,41ff; 44b,55ff according to Melchert 2002e 243ff).

The Luwians shared also the idea of tutelary deities with their contemporaries in Anatolia in the second millennium. As McMahon (1991 5) has shown, most tutelary deities had a Hattian origin. From a cult image description we get a general idea about the appearance of such a deity (KUB 38.2 ii 24ff; Hoffner 2002a 65 with refs): 'The Tutelary Deity (^{D}LAMMA): a gold-plated cult image of a standing man with gold-plated eyes. In his right hand he holds a silver lance; in his left hand he holds a shield. He stands on a stag. Beneath him is a silver-plated base.' Among the Luwians we find some of these deities, mostly specified by some epithet. Judging from Hieroglyphic evidence (Savaş 1998 29f) which shows a god's name written either with the sign of a stag or an antler it has been suggested that the general name for the Luwian 'stag-god' or tutelary deity was Kurunta. This is attested in the onomasticon of the second millennium and continuing to the first millennium as Runt(iy)a in personal names (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961 128-131; Zgusta 1964 §1339). In some Luwian rituals and festivals we find other tutelary deities: in Anniwiyani's ritual (VBoT 24) both a ^{D}LAMMA *lulimmi-* and a ^{D}LAMMA *innarawant-* are addressed (McMahon 1991 49f; Popko 1995 92f), in order to help restore sexuality and strength. These tutelary deities—at least partly—were also conceived in the form of a stag as is indicated by the epithet *lulimmi-* which cautiously can be connected with the Akkadian word *lulimmu* 'stag' (Haas 1994a 450 fn. 10). Also the tutelary deity of the hunting bag (^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*) is addressed in some rituals which originate from Arzawa (c.g. VBoT 24 iii 4ff; KBo 12.96) in connection with bird oracles (Bawanypeck 2001 225-227.265f). The goddess Huwassanna who has a tutelary deity of her own (cf. McMahon 1991 49) is also worth mentioning.[14] In her cult at Hupisna the 'exalted tutelary deity' (^{D}LAMMA *šarlaimi*) has an

[14] Cf. further the proper name ^{m}Huwassanna-^{D}LAMMA, mentioned in the fragmentary letter KBo 18.104 7f.

important position. He receives not only offerings but also has his own temple with cult personnel. McMahon (1991 50) rightly concludes that this tutelary deity does not play any role in the Hittite state cult but is one of the central deities of a provincial cult, or to be more precise—a central Luwian tutelary deity in association with Huwassanna. In the Istanuwian cult a 'great tutelary deity' is mentioned. The popularity of the tutelary deities may be deduced from their character which was similar to war-gods and hunting gods, as may be indicated by their association with the stag and bow and arrow. Therefore these gods could bestow both fertility (in form of nourishment) and protection. Both aspects also continue among Luwians in the first century as we see e.g. in the inscription BOHÇA, §4f (Hawkins 2000 479): 'I am good to Runtiya, here he grants to me the beasts.'

4. *The main Luwian goddesses: Kamrusepa, Maliya, Huwassanna*

Kamrusepa is attested from the Old Assyrian trading period. From the Old Hittite period she is also identified superficially with the Hattian goddess Katahziwuri, and Jörg Klinger (1996 159) pointed out that both goddesses could preserve their own traditions. Her name defines her as a 'genius (*šepa-*) of **kamru-*', and at the level of folk-etymology her name could be connected with *kammara-* 'smoke', as may be the case in KBo 9.127 i 12, when the goddess's name is written as ^{D}*Kam-ma-ru-še-pa*. Such a popular interpretation of her name can derive from her nature as a goddess associated with the fireplace in the house (cf. Haas 1994a 261); but a magical incantation also connects Kamrusepa with fire and smoke. To cure a sick person, Kamrusepa's 'spell of the fire' (*ŠI-PAT* IZI-*na-aš*) is recited to make the illness of the head become 'smoke' (KUB 17.8 iv 7; Kellerman 1987; cf. Hoffner 1990 32). Her competence in magic is widely acknowledged in Hittite religion too, as can be seen from the Telipinu myth when Kamrusepa is the one who knows to treat the angry god magically in order to calm his anger (KUB 17.10 ii 33ff; Hoffner 1990 16). Within Luwian religion one can characterize her as the goddess of the household who gives divine help at pregnancy and birth to mother and child (cf. Starke 1985 204-210). Some Luwian birth rituals center around her magic, where she cares for the mother and functions as a midwife (KUB 35.88 iii 12-17): 'They sent for the midwife: She lifted up the child. She, Kamrusepa, takes nine combs

(speaking): "These *melta*-evils shall be combed away: the illness of the head, the illness of the eyes, the illness of the ears, the illness of the mouth, the illness of the throat, the illness of the hands." For all the parts of the body she makes the rounds.' Combing away all evil as an act of purification is also attested in another ritual where Kamrusepa and the Sun-god together comb some sheep (KUB 12.26 ii 1ff; cf. Gurney 1977 54; Haas 1994a 441). That Kamrusepa in Luwian religion specializes in purification magic and healing magic also becomes clear from other texts, e.g. KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 iii 14ff where she is mentioned—together with the goddess Maliya and the god Pirwa (Kronasser 1961 157f). On this 'Sammeltafel' there are five rituals: both in a ritual against gossip (KBo 3.8 ii 18ff; cf. KUB 7.1 iv 13) and against binding (KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 iii 28) Kamrusepa is invoked. Within cult festivals Kamrusepa is less often mentioned, but she is conceived as the mother of the Tutelary Deity of Taurisa and at least in some traditions she appears to be the partner (or parhedra) of Tiwad (cf. KUB 43.23 rev. 35-37). But at present no cult centers related exclusively to her are known. Possibly due to this, the knowledge of Kamrusepa was lost among the Luwians in the first millennium.

Maliya is another great goddess whose origin is not to be sought with the Luwians, but she was highly esteemed among them too. The description of a cult image (KUB 38.33 obv. 5) mentions a river Maliya as a woman and in KUB 40.101 obv. 8 the 'lady Maliya' gets offerings together with rivers and mountains. Sometimes she is associated with Kamrusepa as already mentioned above, and with Pirwa (Haas 1994a 78-80). Another aspect of her nature we learn from a Middle Hittite ritual: Tarhunt is invoked to give prosperity to the royal vineyard; and then offerings of long bread, wine, goats, sheep, and a bull are presented to various gods, namely to the Sun-god Tiwad, to Kamrusepa, and to Maliya, 'the mother of wine and grain' (KUB 43.23 rev. 51; Haas 1988 137). As a hypostasis of Maliya, we can interpret the (two) Maliyanni-goddesses; they are the main goddesses in the ritual of Anna, which is performed to make a vineyard prosper again (Haas 1988 138ff). Maliya's cult continues to the first millennium, and the goddess is mentioned in Lycian inscriptions (e.g. TL 44c.5; 75.5; 80.3; 149.2f; 150.6). This Lycian Maliya was partly identified with Athena from the fourth century onwards; sometimes she also was associated with Artemis (cf. Lebrun 1987 242; further Laroche 1980 4f; Keen 1998 202-204). There are also

traces of a continuity of this goddess in Lydia (Haas 1994a 411; cf. also the proper name given by Zgusta 1964 §849). For a continuity of the 'river Maliya' it is worth mentioning that even a nymph Malis is attested from the Greek tradition in western Anatolia (cf. Neumann 1979b 269 fn. 37).

As a final important Luwian goddess we have to mention Huwassanna whose main cult center was at Hupisna. From this town—and also from Kuliwisna—we know about some of her festivals (section C.2.2.), which were not integrated into the state cult of the Hittites (Güterbock 1962 347). The goddess's family is not known, but according to the festival texts, there are some otherwise less known (local) gods belonging to her circle, e.g. Lallariya, Awatta, Kupilla, Muli or Liliya (cf. KBo 41.105+ ii 8ff; Groddek 2002 85). Some other gods alongside the just mentioned ones—e.g. a tutelary deity, Maliya and 'Maliya of the river'—may be associated with her at her local cult at Kuliwisna (KBo 20.51+ ii 19ff; Trémouille 2002 354f). The goddess has some special cult functionaries, and a certain Bappi, the *ḫuwaššannalli*-priestess, is the authoress of a healing ritual (KBo 29.1; KUB 17.12; 54.34) by which Huwassanna's help is invoked. The cult and the goddess of Hupisna, which is located in the Lower Land, is also part of Hittite religion, and therefore the goddess is mentioned in some Hittite treaties from Suppiluliuma I onward (Frantz-Szabó 1972-1975) and among the gods in Muwattalli's prayer to the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* (KUB 6.45 ii 15-17; Singer 1996b 36): 'Huwassanna of Hupisna, Storm-god of Hupisna, ZABABA of Hupisna, Mount Sarlaimi, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Hupisna.' Mount Sarlaimi mentioned here might be identical with the 'exalted tutelary deity' (^{D}LAMMA *šarlaimi*) who receives offerings in Huwassanna's cult in Hupisna. With this goddess again we have to conclude that though she was a main goddess in the Hupisna region we do not have any traces of a continuity of her cult to the first millennium.

C. Festivals and Magical Rituals from Local Luwian Centers

As I outlined in the introduction, Luwian inhabitants covered large parts of southern and southwestern Anatolia. Therefore we should not suppose that their beliefs and religious practices were the same in all these areas, but we rather have to reckon with a number of local

systems which correspond to the different Luwian communities during the second millennium. As all our knowledge of Luwian cults up to the present depends on sources found in Hattusa only, we have to take into account that some of the cults were preserved because they also were of some interest for 'Hittite religion', while some other aspects of Luwian cult remain unknown up to now. In trying to differentiate Luwian cults according to local centers, the main information we find is about Arzawa, the Lower Land, the areas of Istanuwa and Lallupiya, and Kizzuwatna. It has to be mentioned that the sources at our disposal show some further distinctions. For the bulk of magical rituals Oliver R. Gurney (1977 44) has already emphasized: 'The name of the practitioner, with his or her profession and sometimes nationality and the nature of the emergency are stated explicitly in the opening words and in the colophon at the end of the tablet. The text purports to be the actual words of the author, sometimes in the first person but more often in the third...A large proportion of the practitioners are said to be provincials from outlying parts of the kingdom, especially Kizzuwadna and Arzawa.' I think we should also add practitioners from the Lower Land. But what is more important: with the names of these individual authors from Luwian countries we can get a grasp of autochthonous religious beliefs of Luwians[15] even if they were integrated into the official religion of the Hittite kingdom. There is another important fact: among the 'textbooks' for rituals for festivals and cults of (local) gods, the names of individual authors are missing, but we can attribute them to Luwian religion by the names of gods, who—at least partly—had received some acceptance within the 'Hittite religion of the kingdom'. But again we must draw an interesting conclusion: we do not have texts of festivals from Arzawa—this may not only be some indication that religious festivals (and gods) from Arzawa did not play a central role in the religion of the Hittite kingdom, but we also may take the scanty evidence from Arzawa as the 'purest' expression of Luwian religion (cf. Hutter 2001a 231f). Thus it seems best to describe the festivals and rituals which seek the gods' help in different situations of life according to the various local expressions.

[15] And of Hurrian authors and beliefs of Hurrian religion too. For some famous Hurrian authoresses known by name from Hittite or Hurrian texts from Hattusa cf. e.g. Haas—Wegner 1988.

1. *Greater Arzawa*

The treaties of various Hittite kings with local rulers of the Arzawan lands do not mention the gods of these lands in detail, as we see in the treaty between Mursili II and Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya where we read about the following divine witnesses (Beckman 1996 77, §31): 'All the [deities] of the land of Mira, [... the male deities], the female deities, the mountains, the rivers [...].' In a similar way, we learn about these natural phenomena in a list of offerings for the tutelary deities from the time of Tudhaliya IV (KBo 11.40 vi 13-22; McMahon 1991 131): 'One *t[uḫ]urai*-bread, one bare bone (?) (to) all [the mountains] (and) all the rivers [of the land] of Arzawa which His Majesty regularly [hu]nts; [one *tuḫur]ai-* [bread], one kidney (to) the mountains (and) all the rivers [of the land of] Masa which His Majesty regularly [hu]nts; [one *tuḫ]urai*-[bread], one shoulder (to) the mountains (and) all the rivers [of] the Lukka [land] which His Majesty regularly [hu]nts.' From this entry we do not learn much about Luwian religion, as in the similar case with an offering of thin bread to the Storm-god of Kuwaliya in a festival for the Hurrian Shaushka of Samuḫa during the time of Hattusili III (KUB 27.1 i 58). These offerings date back at least to the reign of Mursili II who also invokes the Storm-god of Arzawa in one of his plague prayers (KUB 14.13 i 16). The fact that such Luwian gods or divine mountains are occasionally mentioned in Hittite cult does not really shed light on Arzawan cults.

From some oracle protocols we learn more about some special form of cults in Arzawa: one oracle inquiry deals with the question of how to remove a curse which was spoken against the god Zawalli—namely if the god has to be purified from 'mouth and tongue' (slander and curse) in the way of Arzawa (KUB 18.67 i 12; cf. van den Hout 1998 13). Within a comparable context we know from KUB 5.6 the Mashuiluwa affair: somebody would like to know whether Mashuiluwa has uttered curses against his Majesty (Mursili II) and against Zawalli. The answer was affirmative and therefore Mursili and Mashuiluwa have to purify themselves ritually, the one in the ritual way of Hattusa, the other in the ritual way of Arzawa (KUB 5.6 iii 24-26. 35-37; cf. for the oracle van den Hout 1998 3ff; further Klengel 1999 194f). I think it is important to observe that Mashuiluwa, the son of a king of Arzawa, has not only to perform magical purification rites in the Arzawan manner, but that a certain

Mashuiluwa is also known as the author of a magical ritual against 'tongues' and blood(shed) (KBo 31.6 iii 8ff). By chance we also know one Arzawan cultic center, namely the sacred city of Mashuiluwa situated on the Siyanta River, which is explicitly mentioned by Mursili in his treaty with Mashuiluwa's successor Kupanta-Kurunta (Beckman 1996 71, §10).

One aspect of interest is a number of authors and authoresses of magical rituals who come from Arzawa—either with certainty if this is written on their tablets—or probably as we can see by comparison. There is an impressive group of such authors who have composed rituals to eliminate the plague or any other kind of pestilence. At least six Arzawan men are known by name: Tarhuntapaddu's and Adda's rituals are still unpublished (cf. Otten 1973 82). Uhhamuwa (Laroche 1966, no. 1411) has authored the following text (HT 1 ii 17ff; Collins 1997 162): 'Thus says Uhhamuwa, man of Arzawa. If in the land there is continual dying or if some god of the enemy has caused it, then I do as follows.' The other authors composing such ritual texts are Maddunani (KUB 7.54 i 1ff; cf. Laroche 1966, no. 793), Tapalazunawali[16] (KUB 34.74 i 1, cf. KUB 41.17 ii 14ff; ed. by Souček 1963), and Ashella from Hapalla (KUB 9.32; cf. Laroche 1966, no. 163; Dinçol 1985), who has composed his ritual against a plague in the army. I think we can even add two more rituals with their authors, namely Dandanku (KUB 7.54 ii 7ff; cf. Laroche 1966, no. 1243; ed. by Klengel 1984) and Pulisa (KBo 15.1 i 1ff; ed. by Kümmel 1967 111ff).[17] Though they are not characterized as men from Arzawa, they share with the other rituals not only the common theme of the plague in an army, but also the topos of a 'scapegoat' who carries the impurity (plague, infection) into a foreign country. In Uhhamuwa's ritual we read (Collins 1997 162): '..."What god of the enemy has made this plague, now this wreathed wether we have brought for your pacification. O god! Just as a fortress is strong and (yet) is at peace with this wether, may you, the god who has made this plague, be at peace in the same way with the land of Hatti. Turn again in friendship to the land of Hatti." Then they drive the

[16] May we suppose that this Arzawan author is identical with the prince Tapalazunawali (Klengel 1999 190f), the son of Uhhaziti from Apasa?

[17] Pulisa's ritual is followed on the Sammeltafel KBo 15.1 by a ritual of the MUNUSŠU.GI Ummaya who recites in Hurrian language (ed. by Kümmel 1967 141-147; Haas–Wegner 1988 15-17,233-247). Within her ritual Mursili II is mentioned.

wreathed sheep into the enemy territory.' With a similar procedure the plague is removed in the rituals of Ashella or Pulisa, where we read (Collins 1997 161): 'You, o male god, be pacified. Let [th]is bull carry [the plague] back into the land of the enemy. [Turn again in friendship to the king, to the prin]ces, the lords, the army and to the la[nd of Hatti].' The theme within these rituals has since long been compared with the scapegoat in the Old Testament (cf. Gurney 1977 47f). We even can reach a more precise result: there is one 'eastern' tradition—stemming from Kizzuwatna and northern Syria with a Hurrian background—which is to be connected with the biblical scapegoat in Leviticus 16 (Janowski-Wilhelm 1993), and there is also another 'western' tradition—stemming from Arzawa and a Luwian background. Perhaps there is also some faint echo of this tradition preserved in the Bible in connection with the Philistines (1 Sam 5-6). Central for this western 'scapegoat' motif is its connection with the removal of a plague.

Considering all these rituals from Arzawa, we can define one special aspect of Luwian religion: there was obviously some fear of, but also some competence against pestilence which fostered Luwian beliefs in Arzawa. The Marwainzi-gods and Yarri, who sometimes is not only seen as a god of war but also of pestilence, who act together in Dandanku's ritual, are Luwian gods. Further we might remember the Greek god Apollo who until the early first millennium CE was worshipped in western Anatolia as a god who was contacted for oracles regarding how to behave in the case of pestilence (cf. Hutter 2001a 231 with refs). We can therefore recognize some special features of Luwian beliefs and practices in Arzawa. Another interesting fact is that these rituals against pestilence were also prominent in the Hittite Empire. Why was that the case? To answer this question (Hutter 2001a 230f) we have to refer to the severe pestilence among the Hittites from the times of Suppiluliuma I to Mursili II (Bryce 1998 223-225; Klengel 1999 144f). Though it is said that this plague had its origins in Syria, measures to counteract this plague were not taken from Syrian 'medical' or 'magical' traditions, but from Arzawa. Although Arzawa was then at odds with Hattusa, the competence of religious practitioners from Arzawa in this field was too important to be neglected.

Daliah Bawanypeck (2001) has brought a further group of rituals to our attention which originated within the Arzawan cult, namely the

rituals of the augur (^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ). Besides the above mentioned Dandanku and Maddunani, especially the ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ Huwarlu (KBo 4.2) must be mentioned, but also three rituals for the ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* (KBo 12.96; KBo 17.105+; KBo 20.107+). The most important results of Bawanypeck's study are the following (Bawanypeck 2001 301ff): The augurs' rituals must be considered a special feature of Arzawan ritual practice, and they deal either with counteracting a plague or with the removal of unfortunate omina which were predicted by flying birds. In this case the augurs—during their ritual treatment—work together with the Old Woman (cf. Anniwiyani who acts together with her son Armati, the augur, VBoT 24 i 1; Pupuwanni and a ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ, whose local provenience is no longer known, IBoT 2.115+ i 1). In most of these rituals the tutelary deity of the hunting bag, who is closely related to natural life, animals and birds, is invoked by the augurs.

While the topic 'plague' is very common to the rituals composed by Arzawan men just mentioned, there are some texts written by women that serve different purposes. The three women identified as Arzawans are Alli, Paskuwatti and NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN (cf. Otten 1973 81f). The ritual of the last one deals with the treatment of a man or a woman who is bewitched (cf. KBo 31.6 iii 14f). It is quite possible that the same women played an active part during the purification rites performed by Mashuliuwa where we read (KUB 5.6 iii 20-23, cf. 31; van den Hout 1998 3-5): '(Then) they will bring the regalia and keep them in a pure state. Mashuiluwa and Zaparti-ŠEŠ will stand far off holding the apparel of (the woman) NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN. Zuwahallati and Mapili will (ritually) treat the gods, subsequently they will treat the regalia.' If the identity of both women is granted, then we not only know when NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN's ritual was composed, but we can further assume that her ritual against sorcery is to be interpreted as a 'local' Luwian form of magic. The other authoress, Alli, has composed another ritual against sorcery (KBo 11.12; cf. Jakob-Rost 1972; Otten 1973). The purpose of Paskuwatti's ritual, which dates from the Middle Hittite period, is to be sought in restoring a man's potency to have sexual intercourse again. Within the ritual context the practitioner Paskuwatti speaks as follows to the patient (KUB 9.27 i 23-29; Hoffner 1987 277): 'I take the spindle and distaff away from him. I give him a bow (and) [arro]w(s), and say (to him) all the while: "I have just taken femininity away from

you and given you masculinity in return. You have cast off the (sexual) behaviour expected [of women; you have taken] to yourself the behaviour expected of men!"' Though some of the symbols used here are widely known, there are again some special Luwian aspects to be found. Besides Arzawa as Paskuwatti's homeland we find the Luwian goddess Uliliyassi as the main goddess invoked during the ritual. The prominent position of Uliliyassi in this ritual also becomes clear from the fact that the ritual is also referred to with the goddess's name, as is written in the tablet catalogue KUB 30.65 i 6: 'One tablet, words of Paskuwatti: when I invoke Uliliyassi' (cf. Laroche 1971b 169). The goddess's name can be derived from Luwian /walili(d)-/ '(open) field, plain', where she may have been the patroness of growth of both wild plants and animals (Hoffner 1987 281; cf. Popko 1995 93), thus being a suitable goddess also to be invoked to give back sexual potency and fertility. The topic of fertility and restored sexuality is shared by Paskuwatti's ritual with Anniwiyani's first ritual (VBoT 24 i 1-iii 3). Anniwiyani is not identified as a woman from Arzawa, but her own name and the name of her son Armati are Luwian, also the gods within her ritual, namely ^{D}LAMMA *lulimmi* (cf. McMahon 1991 49), to whom the tablet catalogue KUB 30,65 i 11 refers, and ^{D}LAMMA *innarawant-*, show a Luwian background. A further (festival) ritual for ^{D}LAMMA *lulimmi* is attested in this tablet catalogue (KUB 30.65 i 4), but the text is not preserved. Also Anniwiyani's second ritual (VBoT 24 iii 4-iv 31) for the ^{D}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršas* reflects her setting in Luwian religion. Daliah Bawanypeck (2001 44ff, 223ff) has recently studied both rituals in detail. Despite their different topics the rituals of the two women Paskuwatti and Anniwiyani have in common that they are performed for 'private' persons—neither king nor queen is treated by these rituals. We may interpret this as a hint that the rituals were conceived as Luwian and 'foreign' in Hattusa—and therefore not included within practices suitable to treat the royal family, but perhaps in use with the Luwian people living in Hattusa then.

2. *The Lower Land*

The Lower Land was situated south of the Marassantiya river, its neighbours in the west being the Arzawan lands and in the southeast Kizzuwatna. As mentioned above (section A.1.) the population of the Lower Land consisted of Hittites, Luwians and probably also of

some Hurrians (at least in the later period of the Hittite empire). Some of the traditions preserved in the region show Hattian origin, too. We know about some local centers.

2.1. *Istanuwa and Lallupiya*

One important cult center was at Istanuwa. A precise localization of that center has remained impossible up to the present. Massimo Forlanini (1987 115 fn. 23) has suggested locating Istanuwa in the area of Gordion, because a river Sahiriya (to be identified with classical Sangarios and modern Sakarya) is mentioned in the ritual texts for Istanuwa (KUB 35.135 iv 16). Volkert Haas (1994a 582) favors localization in western or northwestern Anatolia because within the local pantheon of Istanuwa there are generally speaking no traces of Hurrian[18] influence. That we have to keep Istanuwa apart from the southeast and Kizzuwatna with Hurrian influence can further be deduced from the language of the rituals. The Luwian language of these texts shows some peculiarities in comparison with the CLuwian texts from Kizzuwatna (cf. p. 174f in this volume). So it seems probable to separate Istanuwa also on linguistic grounds from Kizzuwatna. Therefore I think we can mention Istanuwa among the cult centers of the Lower Land or maybe of the (western) border of the Lower Land. The men of Lallupiya who sing in Luwian language during the festival do not help to locate the place, as Lallupiya's localization also remains unknown.

Thanks to the efforts of Frank Starke we have an edition of the festival texts that provide us with some knowledge about this local Luwian cult. There existed at least two different textual versions of the festival, one that included both the description of the ritual and the songs, and another which had the descriptions of the ritual and the songs written on different tablets (Starke 1985 296f). This was possible because some of the songs could be omitted during the festivals. Therefore they were not necessarily written down on the same tablet, as we read in KUB 55.65 iv 38-42: 'The songs which are for them (the gods, who were addressed before) they sing. But if they do not wish to, they do not sing. It is nothing (of any importance). The songs are (written) on the last tablet.' We get the same impres-

[18] But cf. the *ḫu-ur-la-aš* ^{D}*I-na-ar* in KUB 35.135 iv 15 (king and queen drink several gods).

sion from the tablet catalogue, where only 'songs of the men from Istanuwa' are mentioned (KUB 30.42 iv 14; Laroche 1971b 163). The songs—performed by the men of Istanuwa or Lallupiya—accompanying the offerings to the gods at the festival seem to be a special feature of the Istanuwian cult, as other festivals we know from the Hittite realm do not have such a wealth of songs. Though we have no external evidence for dating the festival, the oldest preserved textual version may date as early as the beginning of the 15th century, and the performance of the festival may even have started in the 16th century (Starke 1985 301.303).

The festivals lasted at least four days (cf. Starke 1985 295), celebrating the main gods of Istanuwa with the king and the queen offering at the sacrifice. It is interesting to note that the amount of offerings depended on whether the king and queen were offering together or alone (KUB 32.123+ ii 34f). When the king's sons were also involved in the offerings, their share was given from the palace (KUB 32.123+ ii 35-37a). Parts of the festivals were celebrated in the open field or in a tent (KUB 32.123+ i 10ff), with sacrifices of animals in front of the stele of the Storm-god and the Sun-god (KUB 32.123 iii 28ff). These two gods held the leading position within that pantheon and the festival. Even though their names were only written logographically (with Hittite declination morphemes), it is reasonable to assume them to be local Istanuwian representations of Tarhunt[19] and Tiwad.[20] In the course of the festival they are addressed first, and the participants drink these gods together with others, namely Tarwalliya, Winiyanta, LAMMA, Suwasunna, Yarri, Siuri, Iyasalassi, Wandu, Wistassi, the Sun-god of the gatehouse (KUB 55.65 iv 4-36; cf. KUB 25.37 + 35.131 + 35.132 + 51.9 iv 8-15). Comparable are the gods who receive offerings in KBo 4.11 obv. 5-7 (cf. rev. 39ff): Storm-god, Sun-god, ^{D}LAMMA, Suwasunna, Wandu, Siuri, Iyasalla, ^{D}LAMMA GAL, Immarsiya. A comparable god-list can also be found in KUB 12.42 (Yoshida 1996 253). Therefore this fragment mentioning Luwian gods can perhaps also be taken as belonging to the cult of Istanuwa. A different god-list comprises the Storm-god of

[19] Maybe the Storm-god of Istanuwa is also attested in KBo 29.31 iv 10: ^{D}U ^{URU}*I[š-ta-nu-wa]*, Starke 1985 364 fn. 19.

[20] I cannot see the evidence by which Starke (1985 294) thinks of a Sun-goddess. Also the suggestion by Haas (1994a 582) to interpret Wandu, one of the Istanuwian gods, as a Sun-god lacks support.

Istanuwa, Kinaliya, Gurnuwala, Maliya of the horn, the Hurrian Inara and the river Sahiriya (KUB 35.135 iv 14-16). Most of these gods are restricted to the Istanuwa festival. If Siuri could be equated with the Carian god Sinuri (Lebrun 1995 255) that might be an argument for the localization of Istanuwa closer to the western parts of Anatolia. Concerning the god Tarwalliya, I propose to interpret him as a 'dancing god' (cf. Hittite *tarwai-*), because of his connection with *ḫuḫupal* 'drum' or 'cymbal' (cf. Kühne 1999 with fn. 63) in our ritual. Warwalliya might be a genius of sowing or growing (Starke 1990 483; Melchert 1993a 262), while Winiyanta seems to be a deity connected with wine (Starke 1990 381 with fn. 1378; Melchert 1993a 269). The character of the other gods, who are only mentioned here, still remains obscure.

What is the purpose of this festival then? Despite the large number of various texts describing the festival we cannot reconstruct the sequence of all the rites and sacrifices of the festival in detail. Therefore it is only possible to name some of the main topics within the festival which can highlight its purpose. In the shelf list KUB 30.42 i 1 we read (Laroche 1971b 161): 'First tablet. Song(s) of conciliation of the men of Istanuwa'. The same we read in Luwian language in broken context in KUB 32.13 i 6-11: 'I will conciliate, I will conciliate [...] they shall conciliate him, the gods [...], the pure ones [....]; they shall conciliate him [...] above the Sun-god [...].' It is neither clear who is the one to be conciliated nor why this has become necessary, but some general rite of conciliation or pacifying is possible within a festival.

Another aspect of one of the purposes of the festival we see in KBo 4.11 when we read the colophon: 'They sing the songs of thunder'. According to the tablet these songs accompany the offerings to different gods in the cult. To interpret this line—for the purpose of the festival—we can generally refer to the fear of thunder in Anatolia, an aspect that we find in some Hittite rituals in general and which might be due to climatic conditions in Anatolia (cf. also Oettinger 2001 472-474). Thus we might conclude that this festival was either celebrated in spring or autumn, as one of the seasonal festivals. But if we combine the 'songs of thunder' with the 'songs of conciliation' we can understand a little bit more concretely the reason for the festival: it is celebrated (annually) as a reconciliation of the people of Istanuwa and Lallupiya with their gods, removing all 'misdeeds' which

might have caused the Storm-god's anger and thus also his thunder. Therefore a huge part of the festivals deals with 'songs of thunder'. As a result of this reconciliation with the gods we find a 'merry-go-round' with dancing and music, general happiness and wine (KUB 25.37 + 35.131 + 35.132 + 51.9 iv). That there is a close relation between this part of the festival and the 'songs of thunder' can be assumed on the basis that in the description of both parts of the festival we find nearly the same gods. In the course of this merry-go-round there also was sung a 'dancing song' (KUB 25.37+ ii 19f) which—with due reserve—gives some further basis for our interpretation: dancing functions as a substitute to remove 'evil' and shall give something 'divine' (and reconciliation too). Also an exchange of kisses in this context of the festival, as supposed by Cord Kühne (1999 107f), may indicate the happy union with the gods, reached by the festival.

The participants of the festival are some professional cultic functionaries (cf. Starke 1985 294) and the Hittite king and queen, whose well-being is sought (KUB 25.37+ iv 25-28). Therefore we have surely to concede that the cult of Istanuwa was (superficially) integrated into the Hittite 'state cult'. But the royal family does not play a dominant role within the festival. The central community of the festival is made up by the local people of Istanuwa and Lallupiya, who celebrate their own gods. If the given interpretation is right, the festival has mainly to do with their well-being and reconciliation with their gods. A special and different feature in comparison with other Hittite festivals is the central role of songs and (ecstatic)[21] dances in this festival.

Besides this festival,[22] we also know one man from Lallupiya by name, Yarri, who is the author of a ritual against impurity (KUB 7.29). Generally speaking, the preserved parts of the ritual only deal with magical practices and preparations also known from other similar magical rituals, but there is one point of special interest: the text mentions that in the case of impurity there is one ritual, and all the people of Lallupiya carry it out (KUB 7.29 i 4). Usually rituals are

[21] Cf. Kühne 1999 106.

[22] Maybe another festival mentioning the people of Lallupiya is attested in KBo 29.201 and VS NF 12.26, but the fragmentary texts do not allow the conclusions drawn by V. Haas (1994a 280f, 689) that the Lallupiyans celebrate the festival in Hattusa.

executed by the practitioner(s) and the patient only, while here the whole community is involved. In other words: we find a setting in this text comparable to the Istanuwian festivals, with the participation of the men of Lallupiya to reconcile either the gods or to purify a house from bloodshed. From a sociological point of view we here are dealing with some religious expressions which lay their accent on the community as a whole, not on an individual or the royal family only.

2.2. *Huwassanna's cult at Hupisna*

Considering Luwian religion in the Lower Land, we next can refer to the cult of Huwassanna. She was a local goddess who was worshipped as the queen of Hupisna (Popko 1995 94), but also at Kuliwisna festivals and rites were regularly performed for her. Her cult center Hupisna has been identified with classical Kybestra and modern Ereğli. For her cult we have a lot of ritual fragments which give us some names of her festivals, the EZEN *witaššiyaš* or the EZEN *šaḫḫan* (Jie 1990). From more recently published fragmentary texts of the cult we also learn that there was a special festival to install a new *alḫuitra*-priestess who is only known as a priestess in the cult of Huwassanna, as we read in the colophon (KBo 29.65 + KBo 41.12, left edge 1f; Groddek 2002 82): 'First tablet of the festival of the *alḫuitra*-ship: When they install a new *alḫuitra* for Huwassanna'. Judging from the number of preserved fragments (cf. CTH 690-694; KUB 54.2-35; KBo 24.18-38; 29.64-193; 34.221ff etc.) and some day-counts in the various festival texts, we must conclude that the goddess held a very high rank in Hupisna. As already Hans Gustav Güterbock (1962 347) has pointed out, in these festivals for the goddess the main person and celebrant was not the Hittite king (or queen),[23] but generally speaking the EN.SISKUR, the 'lord of the offering', who is a private person, maybe of local higher rank. He is responsible for this cult, which does not seem to be part of the official cult of the Hittite empire.

The festival focuses on Huwassanna and local gods and goddesses of her circle (cf. for some sections where these gods are named, Yoshida 1996 244-251; further Groddek 2002 95f). Some of them

[23] There are also some ritual fragments of the festivals for Huwassanna with the king and/or the queen being active (cf. Güterbock 1962 347; Lombardi 1999 236-244; Trémouille 2002 358).

remain unknown outside the cult of Huwassanna: Lallariya, Auwatta, Kupilla, Asdutta, Zarnizza, Muli[24], Lilaya, Anna, Aruna, the river Sarmamma or the mountain Sarpa. Besides these there are also some gods who are generally known like the (local) Sun-god or (local) Storm-god. For the Luwian setting of the festival(s) and its gods there are some further observations of interest. Up to the present only one fragmentary tablet from the 14th century with one line in Luwian language has been identified as belonging to this cult (KUB 35.7 i 9; Starke 1985 365f). But it is definitely important that within this fragmentary context the god Harduppi is named, who in KUB 46.18 obv. 19 has the Luwian epithet *im(ma)ralla/ī-*, 'Harduppi of the open country'. Also worthy of mention is the exalted tutelary deity (^{D}LAMMA *šarlaimi*) among the gods of Huwassanna's cult (McMahon 1991 50).

Since a general study and reconstruction of the festivals for Huwassanna is still lacking, only some preliminary comments are possible for the time being. To a high degree the festivals present series of offerings to the various gods of Huwassanna's circle as is also known from Hittite festivals. Just to quote a few lines from the festivals according to the reconstruction of the text KBo 41.105+ ii 4ff by Detlev Groddek (2002 85): 'They clean. Then they drink the 'holy' with wine. For the first time they drink Huwassanna's ladle while seated. The singer sings. The singer recites. But next they drink Muli while seated. The singer sings. The singer recites. But then they drink Huwassanna's inner soul while seated. The singer sings. The singer recites. But then they drink Lilaya's ladle while seated. The singer sings. The singer recites. But then they drink the great Sun-god while seated. The singer sings. He does not recite. But then they drink Auwatta and Kupilla while seated. The singer sings. He [does not] recite.' Afterwards various breads are brought and distributed among the *alḫuitra*-priestess, the 'lords of the god(dess)' and the temple functionaries. They lay the bread upon some tables as offerings to the gods; some breads are broken, others not.

Such actions within festivals are not uncommon among festivals in Anatolia, but the Huwassanna text—comparable to a further text from the cult in Istanuwa—also provides one interesting detail, namely

[24] For some possible attestations of this god as a theophoric element in proper names in the first millennium cf. Lebrun 1995 251f. Cf. also below section E.2.

the exchange of a liturgical kiss. Cord Kühne has recently drawn our attention to this liturgical detail in Hittite cultic texts. Within the *šaḫḫan*-festival as one of the festivals for the goddess in Hupisna, the following happens (KBo 24.28+ KBo 29.70 iv; Kühne 1999 102f): the *alḫuitra*-priestess and the person on whose behalf the festival takes place bow down three times; then bread is distributed among them and among all those who take part in the festival. At that moment all the people share their community with the gods and each other. The *alḫuitra*-priestesses now kiss each other: Kühne interprets this 'ritual' or 'cultic' kiss as a way to express the community with each other and to strengthen the family bonds. Therein we can see one aspect of this 'private festival' and its use for Luwians in Hupisna.

There are some other special features within this festival which are (nearly exclusively) restricted to the cult of Huwassanna. First of all we have to mention two types of priestesses, the ^{MUNUS}*ḫuwaššannalli* and the ^{MUNUS}*alḫuitra*. The first title has an obvious connection to the goddess's name, the other one is only active in this cult. That the *alḫuitra* has a special connection to the festival in Hupisna becomes evident from the fact that some texts refer to her installation, and often she and the 'lord of the offering' act together, drinking the gods (e.g .KBo 14.92+ obv. 23-26, Groddek 2002 92; cf. already Güterbock 1962 348): 'Now they give to drink to the *alḫuitra*-priestess and the 'lord of the offering'. And they drink the great Sun-god while seated. The singer sings. The *ḫuwaššannalli*-priestess recites.' Within another fragment—belonging to the *šaḫḫan*-festival for the goddess—we find some other functionaries,[25] e.g. the priest of the temple of the exalted tutelary deities or the *maššanāmi*-priest. Also special to the cult of this goddess is the ladle (*ziyadu*), as a cultic equipment, which is associated with the gods in the festival.

The festival lasted several days, and it was executed 'in the course of the year' (*witti meyani*), as Marie-Claude Trémouille (2002 368) has pointed out recently, while Hans Gustav Güterbock (1962 348f) had suggested that the festival took place in autumn because at several occasion a pithos *(ḫaršiyalli)* is mentioned which could hint to the storage of the harvest. Taking into account that the festival(s)

[25] Some more functionaries are mentioned by Laroche 1959 176. On the role of women within the Huwassanna festivals cf. also Lombardi 1999 219f.

were celebrated by private—either rich or poor—persons (cf. also KUB 27.59 i 26-28; Güterbock 1962 347f), we can certainly reckon with several occasions for this 'festival'. The celebration of the festival thus could depend on a specific situation that made the worship of Huwassanna necessary as a means of individual religiosity by anybody in Hupisna who could (financially) afford to have these rites for the goddess performed. With further investigation in the reconstruction of the still fragmentarily known festival it is hoped that new information about such aspects of religious behaviour of Luwians can be attained.

Such a preliminary interpretation of the festival also allows us to incorporate within the cult of Huwassanna those texts which tell us that comparable rites also were performed for her at Kuliwisna—either by private persons or by the royal family. Obviously there are some differences between the festival in Hupisna and in Kuliwisna (cf. Trémouille 2002 360-363). Some gods missing in Hupisna are associated with Huwassanna in Kuliwisna, and also the *alḫuitra*-priestess and the *ḫuwaššannalli*-priestess do not appear in Kuliwisna. On the other hand, the worship of Huwassanna at Kuliwisna shows some common features with the worship of NIN.TU (DINGIR.MAḪ), Ishtar of Kuliwisna and of Tamininga (Trémouille 2002 368). But also at Kuliwisna this cult is not centrally linked to the state cult, though the queen executes rites for Haristassi. Therefore we reach the following conclusion: Huwassanna of Hupisna attracted local Luwian worshippers who could perform her festivals on their own behalf with the help of the local cultic functionaries. The same happened in Kuliwisna, but as there special local functionaries from Hupisna were missing, the ceremonies were not exactly the same as at Hupisna. These various forms of worshipping Huwassanna can be explained by assuming her cult to be part of 'private religion' in the Lower Land. As an expression of 'everybody's religion' the goddess's worship could vary according to the individual needs of the 'lord of the offering'.

Furthermore we know of a purification or pacifying ritual[26] for Huwassanna, authored by a certain Bappi, a *ḫuwaššanalli*-priestess (KBo 29.191 i 1). The rather fragmentary text has a duplicate in

[26] Another fragmentary purification (?) ritual for the goddess also mentions the god Gursantati (KUB 54.35 rev. 8,11) who belongs to Huwassannna's circle and—like other male and female gods—to her temple (cf. KBo 29.194 rev. 5f).

KUB 54.34. Probably also KUB 17.12 can be seen as another version of this ritual. The central goddess to whom this ritual applies is Huwassanna, logographically written as ^{d}GAZ.BA.A.A (cf. KBo 29.191 i 2.4.5; KUB 54.34 i 6; ii 4; KUB 17.12 ii 15). The purpose of this ritual, which lasted at least three days (KUB 17.12 ii 18), is to cure a 'sick' person who is affected by the anger of the goddess (KUB 17.12 iii 4; KUB 54.34 ii 4) and by some adversaries (KUB 17.12 ii 16; cf. Güterbock 1962 349f). One portion of the ritual is carried out at the crossroads (KUB 17.12 ii 8: KASKAL-*aš ḫa-tar-ni-ya-aš-ḫa-aš*; KUB 54.34 ii 12: KASKAL]-*aš ḫa-at-ta-re-eš-na-aš*). Besides the name of the goddess and the *ḫuwaššannalli* priestess(es) functioning in the ritual (KBo 29.191 i 6; KUB 54.34 i 7), this ritual is interesting because it mentions some types of bread with their Luwian names: ^{NINDA}*warmani(n)zi*, ^{NINDA}*alalunza*, ^{NINDA}*partaninzi*, NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *šarlattaššiš*, NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *piḫaddaššiš*, NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *kuwanzunaššiš*. These various breads, which are typical for this ritual, also may serve as a hint for the local Luwian tradition within this ritual for Huwassanna. Judging from the festivals for the goddess at Hupisna we therefore may suggest that the homeland of the authoress Bappi is to be sought in the Lower Land.

2.3. *Magical rituals from the Lower Land*

A famous authoress who might have originated from the Lower Land is the 'Old Woman' (^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI) Tunnawiya (Hutter 1988 55-57) who composed at least four (or maybe even five)[27] different rituals: KUB 7.53+ deals with impurity of man and woman; KUB 30.57 left column 5-7 is only the shelf list of a ritual to invoke a dead person; KBo 21.1 is a ritual to 'take king and queen from the earth'; and KBo 17.62+ belongs to the group of birth rituals (cf. Beckman 1983 32-

[27] The 'ritual of the ox' (tablet 2: KUB 9.4+; tablet 5: HT 6+KBo 9.125) runs for long passages closely parallel to tablet 2 of the *taknaz dā-* ritual KUB 9.34. For the 'ritual of the ox' no name of an authoress is given in the colophon, but I think that Beckman (1990 35) is wrong in taking the 'ritual of the ox' and the '*taknaz dā-* ritual' as one single composition only referred to by two different titles. It is possible that the ritual of the ox is also composed by Tunnawiya (but then we have to ask why is her name not mentioned). Cautiously I will suggest another solution: maybe this ritual was composed by a pupil of Tunnawiya who relied heavily on her teacher by incorporating large portions of Tunnawiya's ritual into the new ritual. Another solution concerning authorship is proposed by Taracha 2000 216 who thinks that Tunnawiya incorporated the 'ritual of the ox' into her *taknaz dā-* ritual.

41). In this last text Tunnawiya is called a 'midwife' (^{MUNUS}ŠÀ.ZU), while the other three texts say she is an 'Old Woman'. Thus we might conclude that the birth ritual is the first ritual composed by her. According to KBo 21.1 i 1 she was practicing in Hattusa but judging from her name, her hometown was Tunna near Tarhuntassa. Within her rituals there are also some aspects which strengthen the idea that she originated in the Lower Land. Of foremost importance is KUB 7.53+ i 58f with the following Luwian spell: *a-ri-ya-ad-da-li-iš* ^{D}IM-*an-za šar-ri tap-pa-ši-i ḫu-u-e-ḫu-u-i-ya tap-pa-aš-ša-{it} šar-ri ti-ya-mi ḫu-i-ḫu-i-ya*: 'Storm-god of the mountain(s) (*ariyaddalli*), run above heaven; heaven, run above earth.' The same spell is also incorporated in another ritual by Tunnawiya, however only fragmentarily preserved and just in Hittite translation (KUB 9.34 i 11f), but again with the Luwian epithet *ariyaddalli* for the Storm-god (cf. Hutter 1988, 67f; Starke 1985 44). This Luwian epithet of the Storm-god is also attested in the HLuwian inscription KULULU 1, §5f (Hawkins 2000 443): 'Also I myself set up this Tarhunzas of the ARATALI-, and I shall offer to him every year with one ox (and) three sheep'. Comparing these texts, we learn some details for Luwian religion: Tunnawiya's rituals date to the late 15th or early 14th century, and the KULULU text can be attributed to the mid-8th century. So we observe an interesting continuity in worshipping this (local) 'Storm-god of the mountain(s)'. As KULULU lies within the area of Tabal, the first millennium successor of the Lower Land of Hittite times, we also know the area where this Storm-god was venerated. So it seems not too far-fetched to conclude that Tunnawiya's rituals present Luwian ideas from the Lower Land, as the geographical frame within her *taknaz dā-* ritual KBo 21.1+ exclusively refers to this area (Hutter 1988 128f).

From the shelflist in KUB 30.57+59 left column 2-4 we know another authoress, Kuranna by name. She had composed an invocation of the DINGIR^{MEŠ} *imrašziš* on behalf of [sons ? and] daughters (Laroche 1971b 156). From these lines we can argue that Kuranna composed her ritual perhaps for some 'private' purpose and not as a part of 'official' religion. That it has some Luwian contents we can conclude from the invoked 'gods of the open country'. As we do not have the entire text of this ritual we cannot reach absolute certainty about this authoress. But as the library label names her

ritual beside one of Tunnawiya's it might be possible that this woman originated from the Lower Land too.[28]

We also have to mention the woman Zuwi whose ritual is carried out when somebody has been frightened by the Storm-god (KBo 12.106+KBo 13.146 i 2: ^{D}U-*aš ú-e-ri-da-nu-zi*). This ritual deserves our interest, because Zuwi is characterized to be either a woman from Durmitta (KBo 12.106+) or from Angulla (KUB 7.57 iv 25ff). For a localization of Durmitta we may refer to Muwattalli's prayer to the Storm-god of lightning, where it is followed immediately by Nenassa, Hupisna, and Tuwanuwa, centers of the Lower Land (KUB 6.45 ii 10-19). Thus we may conclude that Durmitta was a center at the border of the Lower Land, too, but still southwest of the Halys river, maybe close to present-day Tuz Gölü (Forlanini 1987 106; cf. Singer 1996b 176), and not northeast of that river (cf. Klengel 1999 180). Locating Durmitta next to the Lower Land corresponds to some personal names from the town which seem to be Luwian. Therefore we can argue that Durmitta's population was made up by Luwians and other ethnic groups.[29] This Luwian background can also be seen in Zuwi's ritual (cf. Hutter 2000 104 with refs): when the patient's virility is restored again by the 'Old Woman' the patient is given *nut-* (Hitt. *nū-*), 'assent, approval' and *tummantiya-*, 'obedience'. Both words are not only Luwian, but they are also common within contexts of magical spells which tend to restore the patient's wellness. Other elements of 'Luwian magic' used by Zuwi are the spitting out of all evil or the use of an animal as a substitute which is laid on the body parts of the patient. Further, in KUB 35.148 iv 13 we read a Luwian construction: *ḫur-ki-la-aš-ši-in-za* LÚ^{MEŠ}*-in-za*. The purpose of the ritual is to remove the consequences of sexual misbehaviour which is called *ḫurkil*. For the ritual treatment of the patient some wild animals are used, and he has to overcome them to get purified again. In general it seems that *ḫurkil* in this ritual has to be understood as some kind of sodomy. Through the performance of the ritual

[28] It is not unproblematic to try to attribute such rituals to local areas based on very scanty evidence. If we might connect the 'gods of the open country' in Kuranna's ritual with the Immarsiya-gods in the Istanuwa-tablet KBo 4.11 rev. 7, we could have a further argument for the localization of Istanuwa in the Lower Land.

[29] That not all authors from Durmitta are Luwian, is illustrated by the ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI Mallidunna; her ritual (KUB 33.70 iii 60ff; cf. KUB 30.51+ obv. 15f; KUB 30.67+ iv 3-5; cf. Laroche 1971b 158.171) does not show Luwian traces, but with ^{D}UD.SIG$_5$ refers to the Hattian sphere.

the patient's sexual behaviour shall change so that he returns to those 'normal' sexual practices which were accepted in his society (cf. Hutter 2000 101ff). Two more aspects of this ritual are of general interest: judging from the (Hittite) language of the ritual, we can see that the textual tradition reaches back to the Old Hittite period, which shows that Luwians had already reached the Lower Land at a relatively early time of Hittite history. So we might conclude that Zuwi may have originally composed her ritual as early as the 16th century. The other point of interest is that the field of application of the ritual is not (Hittite) royality but a private person. So this text, though preserved in Hattusa, can be taken as a document of a religious-magical way to 'cure' somebody who has aroused the (Luwian) Storm-god's anger in the Lower Land by sexual misdeeds.

As already mentioned (cf. section B.4.), the goddess Maliya was connected with wine. Wine was cultivated mainly in the Lower Land and Kizzuwatna (Haas 1988 142). Thus perhaps we can propose to look for the origin of the woman Anna from Kaplawiya (KUB 12.44 + KBo 27.108 ii 25) also in the Lower Land. Anna's ritual is intended to cure a vineyard which does not prosper, and her ritual invokes the Maliyanni-goddesses. At the end of Anna's ritual there is also one interesting speech in an unknown language (KUB 12.44 + KBo 27.108 iii 31-35),[30] which does not contradict Anna's provenience from the Lower Land, as this area was not only inhabited by Luwians, but by other people too.

3. *Luwian rituals from Kizzuwatna*

The corpus of CLuwian texts found at Hattusa is made up nearly exclusively by purification and healing rituals and by festival texts. Apart from the texts referring to the local cult at Istanuwa, showing linguistic peculiarities, all these texts originated in Kizzuwatna, though some of them may have been written or even composed in Hattusa. This is the case with the festival for the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna (KUB 35.133; Starke 1985 270ff). The long festival—it lasted at least 19 days (KBo 17.36+ iv 8)—does not reflect some local Luwian cult, but judging from the two main gods celebrated in the festival, it was part of the Hittite 'state religion'. For the benefit of Hattusa some rites were carried out, even when the Storm-

[30] On this section in an "unknown language" see Haas (1988 141 n. 64).

god was invoked in Luwian (KUB 35.133 ii 29f: ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-ša-ya ap-pa-ra-an-ti-en a-ri-in an-na-ru-ma-a-ḫi ḫu-u-it-wa-la-a-ḫi-ša-ḫa ú-pa*; cf. iii 14-16): 'For Hattusa in future time grant forcefulness and life!' Another text for the celestial Storm-god (KUB 35.1) also may reflect some festival from the Hittite cult although the ^{LÚ}NAR is singing in Luwian. As Frank Starke (1985 354) has mentioned, this cultic functionary is restricted to Hittite cultic contexts, so this festival probably does not refer to Luwian religion proper. These festival texts[31] are surely of some interest for the question of Hittite-Luwian cultural connections because they obviously show that there was a steady influx of Luwian culture to Hattusa which began—according to the earliest portions of these texts—as early as the 16th century. The import of Luwian language from Kizzuwatna to Hattusa made it possible to use Luwian language in some religious festivals, but these texts do not shed light on special Luwian cults.

While thus discarding such festivals as sources for Luwian religion, we reach better ground with the purification and healing rituals from Kizzuwatna. As has been clearly shown by Volkert Haas and Gernot Wilhelm, there was a close cultural symbiosis between Luwians and Hurrians in Kizzuwatna, which not only left its impact in Luwian (and Hittite) language with loanwords from the Hurrian language. Also ritual texts with Luwian speech mention occasionally Hurrian gods like Hebat, Shaushka, Ninatta or Nubadig (Haas—Wilhelm 1974 6 with refs). Also typical for this symbiosis of Luwian and Hurrian concepts are evocation rituals (Haas—Wilhelm 1974 18; cf. Popko 1995 107; Trémouille 2000 160-163) and substitution rituals (Taracha 2000 202-204). Further worthy of mention are the lists of good things that shall be bestowed on or given back to the patient after he is treated magically by the ritual practitioner. One incantation mentions the following good things to be restored to the patient (KBo 13.260 iii 18-20; Starke 1985 262): 'They shall bring (him) life, *wayaḫit-*, health (and) virility.' Another blessing formula in a ritual of Kuwattalla has the following items (KUB 35.43 ii 38-

[31] The same may apply to KBo 8.74+ and KBo 19.155 (Starke 1985 37ff): both rituals contain portions in Palaic and Luwian language. As the first text shows similarities with the Old Hittite ritual for the king and the queen (Otten—Souček 1969), it is not impossible that these texts were composed within the Hittite cultural sphere but reflect the multi-ethnicity in Hattusa from the Old Hittite period, thus incorporating both Palaic and Luwian portions.

40; cf. KUB 35.45 ii 8-10; further Kammenhuber 1986 87f): life, virility, a long future, health, favor from the gods, long years. As we find similar lists also in Hittite and Hurrian texts, with positive and negative items (cf. further Haas—Wilhelm 1974 21 & 56ff; Kammenhuber 1985 88-99), we have to conclude that especially in Kizzuwatna and the texts brought from there to Hattusa it is not always easy to discern between Luwian, Hurrian and other syncretistic traditions. This applies to the ritual of Hantitassu from Hurma (KBo 11.14) or that of Hebattarakki from Ishuruwa. In her ritual (KUB 24.14) the Luwian god Annamiluli is also mentioned. Such examples make clear that Kizzuwatna was at the crossroads of different religious traditions that together had been brought to the Hittite capital, partly for the benefit of the royal court at Hattusa.

In addition, there are also some magical rituals and incantations from Kizzuwatna that include portions of Luwian spells or speeches. They again reach back to the 16th century and were copied in Hattusa. The ritual of Zarpiya, the physician from Kizzuwatna, (KUB 9.31 i 1) deals with 'broken years' and continuous dying in the land (Collins 1997 162f). The ritual is both preserved in a Hittite (HT 1) and Luwian version (KUB 9.31). Here we have to deal with some genuine Luwian tradition, as Zarpiya invokes the god Santa and the Annarummenzi-gods,[32] the 'forceful ones' (KUB 9.31 ii 22), but also Tiwad, the 'gods the fathers' and ^{D}É.A (KUB 9.31 ii 30f). The last two mentioned deities show for Zarpiya's ritual that there might be a slight Hurrian influence in the ritual, as one might compare the 'gods the fathers' to the 'olden gods', famous in the Hurrian cultic stratum. The Babylonian god Ea came to Anatolia through Hurrian transmission (cf. Popko 1995 99). Another Luwian practitioner (from Kizzuwatna) was the man Puriyanni, who composed a ritual against impurity within the house. To remove this impurity, he sacrifices to the Storm-god of the open country who was affected by this impurity (cf. KUB 7.1 i 3). Besides this Luwian Storm-god of the open field (cf. KBo 22.137 iii 6; KUB 35.54 ii 37. iii 7) also Tiwad is mentioned, once wrongly spelled als 'Hittitized' ^{D}*Ši-wa-ta* (KBo 22.137 iii 8).

[32] The Hittite version gives the 'Hittitized' name of the gods, Innarawantes (HT 1 i 29).

Three further Luwian rituals were composed by the MUNUSSUHUR.LÁ, the attendant woman, Kuwattalla (Starke 1985 72ff). Sometimes she performs her rituals together with the 'Old Woman' Silalluhi (KUB 34.33 iv 2ff). The earliest versions of the rituals date to the end of the 15th century. According to KBo 5.7 Kuwattalla was granted some land by the Hittite king Arnuwanda and the queen Asmunikkal, perhaps for her work as an authoress who was highly esteemed in the Hittite capital (Starke 1985 79). The ritual '*šalli aniur*' is the most extensive composition by Kuwattalla, one that also comprises some different sub-rituals, like the SISKUR.SISKUR *ḫalliyatanza* and the *katta walḫuwaš* SISKUR.SISKUR. The first aims to counteract sickness[33] and should not be identified with the second ritual as Frank Starke (1985 76) has assumed. The second of Kuwattalla's compositions is the 'ritual against punishment' (SISKUR *dūpadupar-ša*). Because of Kuwattalla's authorship the origin of the ritual also reaches back to the 15th century, but two copies were made during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, as we learn from colophons mentioning the scribe Anuwanza (cf. Starke 1985 110f), showing clearly the long interest in this ritual in Hattusa. The purpose against 'punishment' may be connected with a local form of the Luwian Storm-god, namely the Storm-god of punishment (KBo 3.63 i 6: *dupattanaššin* DU-*an*). This god has been known since the 15th century according to KBo 3.63 which mentions him in connection with Hantili (II). The idea that the Storm-god brings punishment to evildoers still is well established in HLuwian and Lycian texts (Starke 1990 477ff with refs). The punishment that has to be removed by Kuwattalla's ritual might result from some kind of perjury. As we see from one fragment (KUB 35.78) belonging to this ritual, the 'Sun-god by whom one swears' is invoked several times.

For the third ritual (Starke 1985 135ff) no title has been preserved in the fragmentary colophon (KBo 10.42 iv 6ff). Therefore we only want to refer to some general motifs within this ritual and also in other rituals containing Luwian traditions. One way to remove impurity and evil deals with the spitting out of all kinds of evil by the patient (cf. Kammenhuber 1985 78-88 with refs); the 'evil tongue' (and gossip) should be removed (cf. Kammenhuber 1986 98 with

[33] Judging from the context that the SISKUR.SISKUR *ḫalliyantanza* is part of the *šalli aniur* it seems to me less likely to interpret it as a 'daily' ritual (both proposals have been made by Melchert 1993a 48).

refs); and a piglet is used to bring all evil to the netherworld and deliver it to the Sun-goddess of the earth (cf. Kammenhuber 1986 95; further Hutter 1988 123; Beckman 1990 53f).

4. *The function of Luwian religious texts in the Hittite capital*

I have made an attempt to distribute our sources to different geographical areas in the Luwian countries, but we must not forget that all these sources have been found in Hattusa. These texts were preserved and used over a longer span of time also in 'Hittite' contexts, as we learn from a quite good number of different manuscripts. It is also worth mentioning that there exist different versions of several rituals.[34] So we have to ask 'why' these texts were collected and used in the Hittite capital. Further we must ask whether we find some different levels of interest in these Luwian traditions in Hattusa. Even a preliminary answer to such questions will be helpful in gaining some more precise knowledge of Luwian religion. I think we can discern at least three different levels of interest.

Both festival texts—for the local cult of Istanuwa and for Huwassanna in Hupisna—are primarily local festivals, whose most important participants were the people of Istanuwa (and Lallupiya) as well as the Luwians in Hupisna. As both cultic centers were politically part of the Hittite empire, these local cults were also celebrated by the Hittite king, as was the case with many other local festivals within the Hittite realm. Thus it is not to be wondered at that the description of the festival also was preserved in Hattusa. But as shown above, both festivals retained their local importance for the Luwians in the Lower Land, where these festivals were celebrated regularly. The presence of the Hittite king (and queen) in the festivals was not really important for the celebration of the Luwian gods in this festival. Since the king, however, could take part, the texts found their way to the archives in Hattusa.

As another group of texts I will take those that reflect Luwian religion, but that clearly have been incorporated or imported to Hattusa on behalf of the king's or the land's welfare. This seems surely to be the case with the *taknaz dā-* ritual by Tunnawiya: it expresses

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[34] Cf. e.g. Puriyanni's ritual with the practitioner referred to either in the first or third person (Starke 1985 55). For the *šalli aniur* there exist three redactions, by Kuwattalla, by Silalluhi and by Kuwattalla *and* Silalluhi (Starke 1985 74). The texts for the Huwassanna and the Istanuwa festival also reflect various redactions.

Luwian ways to provide well-being to the king, but it seems to be a composition by Tunnawiya for the Hittite king and queen—thus using Luwian religious traditions in a 'syncretistic' milieu in the Hittite capital. Also the function of the rituals from Arzawa against plague or constant dying in the land can be understood in a similar way: these Luwian traditions were helpful in the Hittite capital to remove the plague from there. When we take a closer look at the preserved tablets it is worth mentioning that we find these rituals on the 'Sammeltafel' HT 1 and KUB 9.31. On both tablets the first is Zarpiya's ritual, then Uhhamuwa's and third Ashella's ritual. The common topic 'plague' allows combining these three compositions on one tablet, though they originally reflect Kizzuwatnean or Arzawan thoughts. But these differences were not important for their 're-use' in Hittite society and the Hittite kingdom. Similarly Pulisa's ritual is combined on one tablet with Ummaya's text with a Hurrian background. If we further consider that Kuwattalla was granted land for her successful authorship of rituals at the Hittite court, we reach the following conclusion: some practices of Luwian religion were thought to be helpful also within the Hittite political sphere in Hattusa, and therefore such originally 'foreign' practices found their way into 'Hittite political religion'.

As a third group I will label rituals that deal with curing sick or bewitched persons or serve for similar purposes. Paskuwatti's ritual to restore a man's potency again, Anniwiyani's composition to provide fertility, Tunnawiya's ability to remove impurity or to help giving birth, also Puriyanni's care to undo impurity or Anna's ritual for an unfruitful vineyard focus on 'everyday life' and religious help in daily or private occasions. As far as general help in an inauspicious situation is concerned, these rituals probably were thought to be useful for people in Hattusa irrespective of their ethnical background. We can suppose, however, that the main group of people in Hattusa who sought remedy by rituals of this Luwian kind were of Luwian stock.[35]

Such an analysis leads to the result that Luwians in Hattusa practiced their own religion in the Hittite capital. Perhaps by good

[35] I assume this on grounds of analogy, as we know that some religious texts only were of relevance for some clearly ethnically restricted group. This is e.g. the case with the *ḫiyara*-festival, celebrated by people from Aleppo living then in Hattusa. For further examples cf. Hutter 2002 194-95.

fortune it will be possible in the future also to attribute religious architecture found in Hattusa to Luwian gods and their worshippers. For our present state of knowledge about Luwian religion one more thing is important, namely that the Luwians also transmitted aspects of their religion to the Hittite state cult as seen above. Thanks to that, the archives from Hattusa have brought to light Luwian texts and Hittite texts featuring Luwian traditions. To some degree it is also possible to attribute different traces of Luwian thought to the various Luwian centers in southern and western Anatolia. It remains for the future that we—hopefully—may wait for further materials coming directly from Luwian settlements outside the Hittite capital to broaden our knowledge of cultic and ritual practices among the Luwians.

D. Religious Experience, Values, and the People

1. *Approaching the gods' sacredness*

One essential concept in Luwian religious thought may be described as the notion of sacredness and purity, which marks the main difference between 'everyday' life and the religious sphere. Such a distinction of course is not unique to Luwian religion, as it is also well-known among the Hittites. On terminological grounds we can distinguish both religious concepts at least partly. While among the Hittites such ideas are expressed by the word *šuppi-* and its cognates, the Luwian word is *kumma-* (cf. Laroche 1980 2). The word characterizes both gods and men; e.g. in an Istanuwa text this sacredness is a feature of gods (KUB 32.13 i 7f): 'The pure/holy gods shall pacify him'. In an incantation to facilitate birth the Old Women, who act as midwives, are characterized by the same word (KUB 35.102 iii 1-3, cf. KUB 35.15 ii 5): 'The months (of pregnancy) shall go...to the pure Old Women, they shall hand him over'. That gods are endowed with sacredness is also reflected in the name of a (divine) spring, namely Kummayanni.[36] That springs and rivers can be conceived as divine (like other natural phenomena) is well-known—just remember all the rivers of Mira-Kuwaliya among the divine witnesses in the treaty between Mursili II and Kupanta-Kurunta (Beckman 1996 82). The

[36] Cf. Starke 1990 175 with fn. 582; Melchert 1993a 109. The interpretation by Laroche 1980 4 as 'sainte Mère'—and his religio-historical conclusions—must now be discarded.

semantic range 'sacred' also applies to some derivations from the word *kumma-*, attested in HLuwian and Lycian. As ritual functionaries are said to be 'sacred' (*kumma-*) it is not surprising that we also find a general designation for 'priest' in the word *kumaza-* both in a Hieroglyphic text (KAYSERİ, §17; Hawkins 2000 474) and in Lycian (Bryce 1986 131; Keen 1998 213). The notion of holiness is also applied to the cultic sphere, as we learn from Katuwa's inscription, who says that he built 'the holies of the temple' (or: the Holy (One)'s temple), referring to a temple for Tarhunt (KARKAMIŠ A11a, §4; Hawkins 2000 95.98; cf. Starke 1990 428). Animals that are fitting for sacrifice also have to be 'holy' (MALPINAR 2, §7; Hawkins 2000 342f; cf. Starke 1990 161 fn. 526). Thus one of the general values in Luwian religion is the idea of the necessity of purity and holiness for everything that comes in contact with the gods, who also are sacred. In order to behave properly in religious contexts, men have to take heed of this kind of interdependence between men and gods.

This concept is further highlighted by the set of words *wašḫa-*, *wašḫaya-* and *wašḫazza-*; these expressions have a similar semantic range as *kumma-* and related words, referring either to the divine or sacred sphere. Thus we find for the tutelary deity of Taurisa the epithet *wašḫazza-* 'sanctified, holy' (KUB 35.107 ii 10; KUB 25.32 i 7).[37] This god is thought to be the child of Tiwad and Kamrusepa (cf. Starke 1985 211), and therefore also the adjective *wašḫaya-* 'sacralized' in KBo 12.100 rev. 13 may refer to him in this festival text. Also various items used in the cult can be specified and characterized by *wašḫaya-* as 'holy' and suitable for cultic use in a festival (KBo 7.68 ii): a table, various types of bread, crumbs (of bread), wine, but also some cultic functionaries who are active during the festival. As we learn from the HLuwian inscription BABYLON 2, §§2-4, there existed also a cultic (?) or holy object; such objects were presented as a votive gift to Tarhunt (Hawkins 2000 395): 'Because I was woeful (?) to him, he heard me, and for him I made WASHAI(N)ZA.'

Concerning the relationship of men and gods, these concepts of 'holiness' or 'sanctity' show us that approaching the gods demanded a state of 'purity'. Whatever is served or offered to the gods must be

[37] The suggestion by McMahon 1991 59 fn. 26 following Laroche to connect *wašḫa-* with Hittite *išḫa-* 'lord' is to be discarded (cf. also Hawkins 2000 153)

holy, because the gods are holy too, and misuse by common people is clearly interdicted (cf. Cohen 2002 53-56): within the Istanuwa festival e.g. the cupbearer drinks from the *ḫuḫupal*-vessel to the last drop, and nothing is allowed to be spilt, because all the liquid is holy to the gods (KUB 25.37+ i 41-45). A similar thought is expressed by Ashella: everything that is offered to the gods for eating and drinking, namely the cooked flesh, bread and beer, must not be handed over to an ordinary man and removed from the sacred sphere (HT 1 iv 1-7). Therefore also cultic functionaries have to rely on their purity (cf. KUB 35.102 iii 2; KBo 7.68 iii 11f, where KI.MIN clearly refers to *wašḫaiš* in ii 8). That the various groups of priests within local Luwian cults are conceived to hold close relations to the gods is clearly shown by some priestly terminology. A general designation for priests might have been *maššanāma/ī-*, derived by the suffix *-ama-* from *maššan(ī)-* 'god'. We can interpret this priestly title as 'the one who belongs to a god'. Priestly titles also can be derived from divine names, thus indicating the close relationship of (a special category of) men to the gods. That is the case with the *ḫuwaššanna*-priestesses, restricted to the cult of that Luwian goddess. Other titles of cult functionaries are only written logographically, so we cannot judge whether the corresponding Luwian word may express such a notion of 'sacredness'. In the festivals, functionaries like the ^{LÚ}NINDA.DÙ.DÙ, the 'baker', the ^{LÚ}SILÀ.ŠU.DU$_8$ (^{LÚ}SAGI.A) the 'cupbearer', or the ^{LÚ}SANGA, the 'priest', and also the ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI, the 'Old Woman', are active. In the Kizzuwatnean region a *dāniti*-priestess[38] is attested several times (cf. Starke 1990 205ff with refs; Beckman 1983 258), a title that may be derived from yet another term referring to cultic purity (see Melchert 1997c).

All these attestations show a connection of this 'priestly terminology' to the cultic sphere of purity and holiness, but it must remain uncertain whether we have to deal here with exclusively Luwian ideas. This, however, seems to be the case with the ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ, the 'augur', for whom Daliah Bawanypeck has recently shown one specific aspect: through oracle inquiries he approaches the gods in order to get some answer concerning questions or unsolved problems. The special technique used by the augur is observing the flight

[38] Cf. also the HLuwian word (FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)/tanidi-/ at TELL AHMAR 1, §24 (Hawkins 2000 241 & 243).

of a bird. While this function of an augur is generally known in Anatolian religion and culture (Bawanypeck 2001 1-6), in Arzawa he also acts as a cultic functionary and author of rituals. The rituals deal either with magical practices to counteract unfavorable oracles (e.g. the ritual performed by Huwarlu and his pupil Armati, together with the woman Anniwiyani) or with the removal of a plague from the community (e.g. the rituals of Dandanku or Uhhamuwa) after revealing the reason for the plague by an oracle inquiry and an accompanying ritual (as performed by Maddunani from Arzawa). Thus, these Arzawan augurs can be taken as a typical group of functionaries dealing with a special way to get in touch with the divine, marking a special feature of Luwian religion (cf. also section C.1.).

One direct way for man to approach the gods are festivals, as was already outlined above. Individuals also express their experience or hopes in the encounter with the gods, as we learn from divine epithets like the Storm-god of help (IBoT 1.22+ 12) or the Storm-god of punishment (KBo 3.63 i 6). Impressive is the term /tiwadama/ī-/, the '(one) of the Sun-god'. The word is attested in HLuwian only. Its use as adjective—specifying both rulers and 'common' people (cf. Hawkins 2000 58 for the refs in the HLuwian corpus)—leads us to the conclusion that this adjective expresses some special personal devotion to the Sun-god, but also the favor of the god to such a person. This relationship between god and man also enables men to pray to their gods, and they will be assured that the gods will hear them. In the CLuwian texts there are not any compositions of prayers preserved, and only some examples from HLuwian inscription can be cited: from the author of the inscription TELL AHMAR 1, §§21-26 we learn the following (Hawkins 2000 241): 'But I [raised] up (my) han[d(s)] to this celestial Tarhunza, to him those (?) *words* (?) [I spoke (?)]: ... [and] I myself shall make [my] *enemy's* daughter a hierodule for him. This celestial Tarhunza heard me, to me [he] ga[ve(?)] my *enemy*.' Another example mentions the presentation of votive gifts and offerings to the god (MARAŞ 3, §§2-6; Hawkins 2000 268: cf. BABYLON 2, §§3-4): 'Tarhunza heard me, and I made him (as) a statue, and to him two fat sheep I burnt (?), and one ox to him I offered, and to him (as) annual sacrifices one sheep I [...]ed.' We also can judge that some of the steles had a similar dedicatory function (Hutter 1993 96-99), and they also served as cultic objects in front of which some offerings were handed over to the god. In

CEKKE, §§3-5 (Hawkins 2000 145) we read: 'And this *stele* the latter *composed*. For this celestial Tarhunza they shall *burn* up a *calf*, and in future they shall offer an ox and a sheep.' The just mentioned examples from the first millennium can mainly be incorporated because of their Luwian language, though none of these inscriptions comes from the core of the Luwian lands. I think it is not too far-fetched to refer to them as some (scanty) evidence that can illustrate to some degree the way in which Luwians could express their positive experience with their gods. By such prayers or offerings the people might have been showing their thankfulness to the gods who had answered the earthly needs of man.

2. *Elements of the Luwian idea of man*

In Luwian society we find occasionally the idea of a distinctive division of the sexes and that it is undesirable to change sex. We can deduce this e.g. from Paskuwatti's healing ritual which restores symbols of manly sexuality to the patient and removes female symbols from him. Paskuwatti does the following (KUB 9.27+ i 20-29; Hoffner 1987 277; cf. 283 with refs.): 'I place a spindle and a distaff in the patient's [hand], and he comes under the gates. When he steps forward through the gates, I take the spindle and distaff away from him. I give him a bow (and) [arro]w(s), and say (to him) all the while: "I just have taken femininity away from you and given you masculinity in return. You have cast off the (sexual) behaviour expected [of women]; [you have taken] to yourself the behavior of men!"' As masculinity and femininity are considered different values, we also find within the cultic sphere that sometimes men and women are treated in a different way (cf. Cohen 2002 60-62 with refs.): in Tunnawiya's purification ritual, the Old Woman uses either male or female animals in order to heal her patient, matching the client's gender. Similarly we can observe that sacrificial animals correspond to the deity, being either male or female. This kind of polarity can even lead to the exclusion of women from the temple of a male god, as we see from a Kizzuwatnean ritual (KBo 24.45 obv. 20f; Cohen 2002 60): 'If the deity is a male, the woman is not permitted to enter to him (in his temple). (In that case) the exorcist takes pure dough and wool and he performs (the rites) at the temple. He indeed does enter the temple.' Therefore we may conclude that—certainly not as

a general theme—in some cases within Luwian religion a division of the sexes was thought to be important.

Further qualities of Luwian men and women we deduce from descriptions of different parts of the body, of the soul or of the polarity of 'living' and 'dead.' One important aspect is the integrity of the body-parts and the head, as—in a negative way—the incantation text KBo 9.127+ i 23f tells: 'He (the great god, who has grown angry) separated the man's head from his members'. Also other Luwian texts focus on the close association of body and head (KUB 35.24+ i 15; KBo 8.129 obs. 3f; KBo 29.63 ii 5f). Other constituents of a person can be enumerated as ALAM (Hittite *ešri-*), *ḫaštai-* and *meluli-* (cf. KUB 7.53+ ii 9-11; further Hutter 1988 70): the shape (of the body), the bones and soft inner parts of the body. If these parts are afflicted with sickness or magic, the person's integrity and ability to live can be shortened. To counteract such bad conditions the Luwian magical rituals treat all the body parts of such a person (cf. Kammenhuber 1985 77).

For the distinction between the living and the dead person, we can refer to one of Kuwattalla's rituals. The Old Woman makes a clear distinction between such persons. The first one is under the care of the (heavenly) Sun-god, the latter belongs to the Sun-goddess of the earth (KUB 35.45 ii 25-27; cf. also KUB 35.48 ii 19-23; Kammenhuber 1986, 88f): 'If he is living, Tiwad shall deliver him above; if he is dead, the Sun-goddess of the earth shall deliver him, the man of curse and perjury'. As mentioned above (section D.1.) the epithet /tiwadama/ī-/ expresses man's devotion to that god. This god also installs the soul in the person: Ruwa, a Tabalean ruler from the middle of the 8th century, tells us in his funerary inscription (KULULU 4, §§1-4; Hawkins 2000 445): 'I was Ruwa, the Ruler, (devoted) to the Sun-god.[39] Also my posterity (?) (is devoted) to the Sun-god. The gods loved my time(s) (?), and they put into me a beloved soul.' We notice in comparison with a passage in a Hittite prayer (14th century) to the Sun-god that the Sun-god is the main agent for this (KUB 31.127+ iv 24f): 'As formerly I was born from (my) mother's womb, o my god, put that soul back into me.' We might conclude that there was a feeling among the Luwians that life was dependent on the Sun-god.

[39] My translation differs here from Hawkins, who has 'the sun-blessed (man)'.

Kuwattalla's reference cited above only gives us a slight idea about the dead: they obviously are thought to have a connection to the netherworld and to the Sun-goddess of the earth. Since we have no further information about the Luwians' concern with the netherworld, we only can cautiously suppose that some descriptions from the Hittite royal funerary rituals may also fit the 'Luwian worldview', as there are some elements from southeastern Anatolia. On the 8th day we find a ritual treatment of the image of the dead person, adorned either with bow and arrow for a male dead or with spindle and distaff for a female. Further rites refer to grapes and wine (mainly on the 12th and 13th day) as symbols of fertility and life (cf. Haas 1994a 224-228). The symbolism of wine is also well attested elsewhere in Luwian religious thought (cf. section B.2.1.). In the Hittite ritual the Hurrian goddess Allani, whose association with the Netherworld is obvious, is addressed regularly. Allani corresponds to the Luwian Sun-goddess of the earth (cf. Torri 1999 94ff).

We see making up the concept of man the close interrelation between the dead and the living as well as the notion of the necessary integrity of the body parts. Concerning man we have to mention a final feature: curses and blessings, expressed most frequently in magical rituals, can affect everybody, bringing either life and prosperity, or sickness and death. Annelies Kammenhuber (1985; 1986) has analyzed long formulas expressing blessings, curses and troubles in Luwian rituals in two important articles that advance our knowledge of these texts. To get an impression of fears and sorrows, but also of hopes and wishes that concerned Luwian people, we can quote some passages from such rituals. Within Kuwattalla's third ritual we read the following (KUB 35.43 iii 28-37; Starke 1985 147; cf. Kammenhuber 1986 96f):[40] 'It (the piglet) shall take away imprecation (*taparu-*), curse (*tatariyamman-*), oath (*ḫīrūn-*)—(those) of illness (*irḫwalliya-*), of supine (?) (*parittarwalliya-*), of a dead person (*ulantalliya-*), of a living person (*ḫuitwaliya-*), of the past (*puwatil-*), of the future (*pariyanalla-*), of the mountain-dwellers (*lulaḫiya-*), of the bedouin (*ḫapiriya-*), of the military division (*kuwaršašša-*), of the assembly (*tuliya-*). Then they wave the piglet above the ritual's patient. Then he spits on it (the piglet). The Old Woman recites: "Pain (*aḫra-*), woe (*waḫra-*) he spit out, (further) imprecation, curse,

[40] KUB 35.43 iii 32-35 are in Hittite.

(and) the slander of the adults (*mayaššin* EME-*in*)".' Such formulas occur in several rituals (cf. Kammenhuber's listing, 1985 89-91). Spitting out and waving the piglet are also well-attested practices in similar contexts. To treat the patient and bring back the integrity to the parts of his body, Tunnawiya treats him as follows (KUB 9.34 iii 18-32; Hutter 1988 36-39; cf. also Beckman 1990 46f for KUB 9.4 ii 36-45): 'She continues to recite in the same way and treats the twelve body parts in that matter. Then they hold it (the sheep) out to him and he spits into its mouth twice. The Old Woman speaks as follows: "Spit out pain and woe, the gods' anger, the community's slander, three times (or) four times!" Then they bring a piglet of dough and a living piglet. They wave the living piglet at some distance, but she holds up the piglet of dough to him, and the Old Woman speaks as follows: "Great god, you have driven here from Landa, and you have loosed. In front, in the middle, the tongues of illness are running, those which frightened him and those which agitated him." She mentions by name the one for whom she recites.'

One of the results of such a treatment is to undo all evil and bring back well-being. In Kuwattalla's *dūpadupar-ša* ritual we find the symbolism of honey and oil, expressing the idea of recovering and well-being: all curses and other evil conditions as mentioned in Kuwattalla's ritual now shall turn to oil and honey (KUB 9.6+ i 26-31; Starke 1985 113f; cf. Kammenhuber 1985 96f). Another aspect of blessings and wishes for the well-being of the patient that shall be attained by the Old Woman's treatment concerns general prosperity. After Kuwattalla has removed all the evil (KUB 35.45 ii 1-4), the patient is restored 'with life, with virility, with long years, with future, with the favor of the gods, with vitality' (KUB 35.43 ii 8-10). Other formulas of such blessings add the sphere of the family (cf. Kammenhuber 1985 99 with refs.), wishing the patient welfare through 'grandchildren, great-grandchildren, long years, future times, health, the favor of the gods, vitality' (KBo 9.143 iii 13-15). Such formulas of well-wishing survive among the Luwians down to the Iron Age, as we find similar formulas still well attested in HLuwian texts, mentioning both the general good aspects and the family bonds as well. KARATEPE 1, §§XLIX & LII (Hawkins 2000 55) has the following blessings: 'Let him (Tarhunza) bless Azatiwada with health and life...And may Tarhunza the highly blessed and this fortress's gods give to him, to Azatiwada, long days and many years and good

abundance.' Similar hope for the future is expressed in ÇİFTLİK, §§15-17 (Hawkins 2000 449): 'For Tuwati may also these gods come well, and to him to eat and to drink, and to him life of person may they give, and to him long days.' The wish for long life, seeing even great-great-grandchildren, finds its best expression in Kupapiya's funerary inscription, who lived so long as a result of her justice (SHEIZAR, §4). Of course, some of such fears and hopes are not restricted to Luwians, but are common to all men. But the attention these topics receive within the Luwian rituals leads us to the conclusion that they deserved special attention as an important set of values in Luwian society.

E. Continuity and Change in the First Millennium

After the collapse of the Hittite New Kingdom in the early 12th century there occurred a significant change in Anatolia, as from now on a central political power was lacking. We face the rising of small (city)-states, which at their best tried to keep up ties to various traditions from the Hittite empire (cf. Bryce 1998 381-91; Klengel 1999 309-319). Especially king Hartapu and his father Mursili who both bear the titles 'great king, hero' (cf. Hawkins 2000 429 & 437f) show the struggle of these kingdoms to present themselves as heirs of Hittite kingship, as we learn from the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group of HLuwian inscriptions. The same can be noticed out for Kuzi-Teshub's relation to the great kings of Karkamish and further dynastic links with Malatya (cf. Hawkins 1988). Historical circumstances of such a kind form a background for continuity of Luwian culture(s), but we also have to bear in mind that with the end of the Hittite New Kingdom all our cuneiform sources disappear. Even if we can concede that HLuwian texts like those by Hartapu or the earliest texts from Karkamish date to the 12th century, nevertheless evidence becomes more limited. We must be aware that the HLuwian inscriptions cannot be taken as a direct proof that everything that is written in these texts in *Luwian language* also refers to *Luwian culture*. Keeping in mind the regions where HLuwian inscriptions have been discovered until today, it is worth mentioning that only the inscriptions found in Tabal come from an area for which we can assume a relatively large percentage of Luwian people. For all the other regions in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria we must

also reckon with high numbers of non-Luwian people. Turning to western Anatolia, written sources in Anatolian languages are largely restricted to the Lycian corpus from the 6th to 4th centuries. But Lycia cannot be considered as continuing Luwian culture directly. Lycia clearly had religious concepts of its own, of course also sharing some Luwian traditions (e.g. some gods), but also integrating 'Greek' and other traditions.[41] Trevor Bryce (1986 172-202; cf. Keen 1998 193-213) has described some outlines of Lycian religion in a comprehensive way but it is eye-catching that only *Trqqas/Trqqiz* and Maliya can be traced back to Bronze Age Luwian antecedents with certainty. While some other gods may have their forerunners in the Bronze Age, there is also a group of Greek deities who were introduced to the Lycian pantheon (cf. also Neumann 1979b). Despite such limitations some aspects of continuity and change in Luwian traditions during the Iron Age will be described in this concluding section.

1. *Western Anatolia and contacts with the '(Pre)-Greek' world*

From the 14th century western Anatolia and the Arzawan lands had at least occasional contacts with Myceneans. Archaeological evidence indicates that settlements were established by Mycenaeans on the southwestern coast of Anatolia. It is also possible that some Luwian names are attested in Linear B tablets (cf. for further refs Schachner-Meriç 2000 94-99; Morris 2001 137 fn. 8). When Greek colonists settled on the western Anatolian shores they met a Luwian environment (Starke 1997a 459). Therefore it must be acknowledged that traditions that have been preserved in Greek sources may originate from a western Anatolian context, but not in any case from a necessarily Luwian context. As we have no direct knowledge about western Anatolia after the collapse of the Hittite New Kingdom only some outlines can be sketched.

I start with the highly problematic case of Wilusa: Frank Starke (1997a 456) is right in stressing that our knowledge about Wilusa is marked by a Hittite point of view, namely connecting Wilusa loosely to the Arzawan lands. But we should not overestimate the Luwian

[41] Popko 1995 172-176 is certainly well advised in describing the 'beliefs of the Lycians' in a separate chapter beside the 'gods of the Luwians in the first millennium' (Popko 1995 163-171).

component or influence on Wilusa. The main argument by Starke (1997a 458) that the Luwian language was the common bond to connect Wilusa and Arzawa cannot be proven; Luwian certainly was not the only language in western Anatolia. Hans Gustav Güterbock in his very balanced treatment of the possibilities of identifying Wilusa and Troy shows us that the names of famous Wiluseans like Alaksandu and Kukkunni may be either Anatolian or Greek, but there is no recognizable meaning in Luwian for these names (Güterbock 1986 223f). Further arguments for finding Luwians in Wilusa depend on the question of how one considers the equation of Wilusa with (Homer's) Troy. I think we cannot go further today than to quote Güterbock's cautious conclusion (1986 228): 'We cannot claim with any certainty that Wilusa *is* Ilios or that Alaksandus *is* Alexandros'.

This we should bear in mind especially because within recent years there has been some heavy emphasis on popularizing the equation of Wilusa with Troy and in making Troy the (most northern) *Luwian* center. From the philological point of view this seems problematic. The single seal bearing HLuwian names found in 1995 in Troy (Hawkins—Easton 1996) cannot be taken as a definite (but isolated) proof for Luwians there.[42] Even Frank Starke has to admit that the name of the Trojan king Priamos does not neatly fit Luwian philological rules.[43] Therefore we should better keep Wilusa (and Troy) apart from our reconstruction of Luwian religion in western Anatolia. I will dwell on Wilusa for a moment, because in another way it is of interest for the history of religions in western Anatolia. Among the gods of Wilusa mentioned at the end of the Alaksandu treaty (Beckman 1996 92) we find a fragmentary god-list of the pantheon of Wilusa: at the top the Storm-god of the army is mentioned, followed by a (short) break which may have contained the

[42] It would be the same to conclude from objects with HLuwian inscriptions found in Greece that Luwian language also dominated on the Greek mainland. The bronze bowl TRAGANA/LOCRIS (Hawkins 2000 569), probably from the 8th century, can hardly be taken as an argument that this area was a 'Luwian land', even if Muwizi, the putative owner of the bowl, whose name is inscribed on it, may have lived there.

[43] Starke 1997a 458: the second element (*-mos*) in the name does not exactly match to its Luwian counterpart *mūwa-*. Cf. also Neumann 1999 16 fn. 3 who stresses that Priamos's name cannot be derived from the Luwian language with any certainty, it being in the best case one possible guess among others.

name of a female goddess at the top of the Wilusean pantheon,[44] and the highly disputed god]appaliunas, followed by a general enumeration of the male and female gods, the mountains, rivers, springs and the underground water-course (?) (^{D}KASKAL.KUR)[45] of Wilusa. Whether the fragmentary name of the god]appaliunas is identical with Apollo known from Greek sources remains to be seen. It is possible, but there is presently neither a real argument to prove this point nor to make this god a Luwian one. Manfred Korfmann's claim cannot be upheld when he says (1998 475): 'This god Apollo might be identical with the god who in the land of the Hittites and their capital was called Apulunas/Apaliunas and who was well-known in the Luwian world and in the city/land of Wilusa'.[46] Such an interpretation is simply far-fetched and one sided. The accompanying argument for Korfmann that the archaeological context in Troia shows in front of one of the city gates four steles also cannot be taken to prove the identification of]appaliunas with Apollo. Of course, Korfmann is right in saying that offerings in front of steles close to a city gate are well attested all over Anatolia, and also in Syria and Mesopotamia (Korfmann 1998 473ff). Such standing stones were thought to represent the god. This was a widespread phenomenon in Anatolia that had its origins most likely in Syria (Hutter 1993). Therefore in my opinion the archeological evidence from Troy cannot bear more weight than to show that Troy is part of the Anatolian world which is beyond any doubt.

Taking together all the scanty references, we know next to nothing about religion in Wilusa: from the Hittite point of view as given in the Alaksandu treaty the gods of this city are described in a stereotyped way that accords with our general knowledge of Anatolia, but that does not show distinctive Luwian features. Here we also have to refer to the oracle inquiry KUB 5.6 ii 57-64, mentioning the gods of Lazpa and the gods of Ahhiyawa. These foreign gods found their way to the Hittite capital and were treated in the same 'Hittite man-

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[44] As long as we do not know definitely more about the religion of Wilusa my answer is 'no' to Güterbock's (1986 227 fn. 28) question: 'Should we venture a restauration ^{D}[IŠTAR-*li-iš*] as *interpretatio Hethitica* of Aphrodite?'.

[45] Cf. most recently Hawkins 1995a 44f with refs.

[46] Original in German: „Dieser Gott Apollon dürfte mit dem Gott identisch sein, der im Hethiterland und dessen Hauptstadt den Namen Apulunas/Apaliunas hatte und der luwischen Welt und somit auch der Stadt/Landschaft Wilusa gut bekannt war.'

ner' as the Hittite gods by Mursili II on one special occasion. The enigmatic reference to these gods shows us that we have to reckon with (partly) different religious beliefs and gods in western Anatolia and the islands in the Aegean sea. The gods of Lazpa, of Ahhiyawa, of Wilusa—they indeed may function as an interface between Anatolian and '(Pre)-Greek' gods and religious thought. Therefore it is important to deal with them too. But as long as further written sources are missing we will not be able to judge about the precise 'ethnicity' or the 'theology' of these gods. Therefore they presently cannot be taken as a part of Luwian religion.

In recent years the geography of the kingdom of Mira has been established and the equation of Apasa with later Ephesos now seems to be certain (cf. Hawkins 1998b 24). Therefore the question arises whether the famous Artemis of Ephesos may have her origins in an Arzawan or Luwian goddess. Just to remember for a moment: unfortunately, we do not know much of the pantheon of Arzawa and at first glance no goddess is known to us who seems to be the Luwian prototype for the Ephesian Artemis. In a recently published article Sarah Morris has concentrated upon some aspects of the goddess of Ephesos showing her non-Greek background leading back to Anatolian traditions. The starting point for Morris (2001 135f) is the Linear B attestation of the name or title *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* in tablets from the palace of Pylos in southwestern Peloponnese. The Linear B entry *a-si-wi-ja* is quite possibly to be connected with the land of Assuwa in western Anatolia. Another Greek title in relation to the Ephesian Artemis was 'Lady O/Upis', perhaps the 'Lady of Apasa/Ephesos' (Morris 2001 137). Developing her arguments further, Morris turns to the 'breasts' of the archaic cult statues of the Ephesian goddess and traces them back to small amber pendants found in the early levels of the Artemision. The symbolical value of these pendants as decoration of the goddess lies within the realm of fertility (Morris 2001 142). With the pendants corresponding to Hittite *kurša-* 'hunting bag', Morris draws the conclusion that such aspects of the iconography and history of the Ephesian Artemis allow us to interpret the goddess's non-Greek history within the Anatolian environment. Artemis might originally have been the tutelary deity of the citadel of Apasa/Ephesos, who was fused with the Greek Artemis by Ionian colonists (Morris 2001 151).

Of course, this reconstruction of the prehistory of Artemis remains hypothetical, but tempting. Morris in her argument refers only generally to the use of *kurša-* and the ^{D}LAMMA *kuršaš*, the 'Tutelary deity of the hunting bag' in Hittite texts (Morris 2001 143-145), and therefore we have to add to the discussion one more precise aspect. According to Daliah Bawanypeck's study of the rituals of the augur (^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ) some of these rituals deal with the ^{D}LAMMA *kuršaš* (cf. section C.1.). Anniwiyani's second ritual (VBoT 24 iii 4-iv 31; Bawanypeck 2001 54ff) and three rituals addressing this god directly (KBo 12.96; KBo 17.105+; KBo 20.107+; Bawanypeck 2001 70ff) can add a closer Luwian background for the tutelary aspect of Artemis than Sarah Morris has suggested. But we also must mention some important differences: ^{D}LAMMA *kuršaš* is not only a protective deity for animals in general, but within the context of all these rituals the deity is also closely associated with oracle birds; this is not the case with Artemis of Ephesos. Further we have to pay attention to the fact that this tutelary deity is male. Thus the hypothesis of Sarah Morris has to remain what it is—a tempting hypothesis, which should be taken into consideration seriously, but cautiously. It also can stimulate further research that might reveal some aspects of continuing Luwian religion included or even disguised in Greek traditions.

We reach firmer ground with the continuity of a Luwian god during the first millennium and in Greek epic tradition, too, by turning to the Greek Pegasos who is the successor of the Luwian Storm-god of lightning (^{D}U *piḫaššašši*š). This god (Singer 1996b 185-189) was made Muwattalli II's personal patron deity, though it seems that he had been worshipped within the royal family in Hattusa since two earlier generations (KUB 6.45+ i 41f). With the shift of the Hittite capital from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa the Storm-god of lightning became the main god of the new capital, but surely had been known there already in earlier times as a Luwian god. The Luwian epithet of this god continued in Greek tradition as Pegasos (Hutter 1995 86f & 93 with refs.), for the first time mentioned in Hesiod's Theogony (lines 280-286), connected with the horse, carrying the lightning and the thunderbolt for Zeus. Thus Hesiod incorporates the relevant Luwian elements in his epic tradition (Hutter 1995 92-95 with refs.): the special idea of a Storm-god of lightning and the idea of the association of the Luwian Storm-god with the horse (cf. section B.2.1.), although we do not know from genuine Luwian sources

that the Storm-god of lightning was also associated with a horse. Thus Hesiod can serve as evidence that there was some ongoing continuity of the Luwian god from late Bronze Age to the Iron Age among Luwians in southwestern Anatolia, mixed with new elements.

In conclusion we must say: our limited knowledge does not allow us to recover a history of Luwian religion in western Anatolia after the collapse of the Hittite Empire when our cuneiform sources disappeared. It is possible (and even probable) that some Luwian traditions in the Arzawan lands continued to the Iron Age, as was indicated above. But we should be aware of the danger of taking everything as 'Luwian', as we surely have to reckon with various distinctive religious traditions among people in the western parts of Anatolia in the Iron Age, partly of Anatolian stock (as e.g. was the case with people surviving the fall of the Hittite empire in the Wilusa region, or with the Lydians or Carians),[47] partly of Aegean or Greek stock. This plurality had already begun before the end of the Hittite empire, as there had been a steady chain of contacts between Anatolia and the Aegean and Greek mainland since the 14th century. Such contacts continued in the following centuries, influencing the formation of Greek religious thought by Anatolian elements. But due to our scanty direct evidence it is at the moment impossible to determine the Luwians' share of this influence in Europe's cultural heritage.

2. *Tabal and the ongoing 'mixed' population in the Lower Land*

The HLuwian inscriptions from Tabal provide some information on religion mainly for the second half of the 8th century. The older 'western' group, mentioning the Great King Hartapu, possibly dates back to the period shortly after the fall of the Hittite empire (Hawkins 2000 434), but besides the name of the Storm-god Tarhunt (e.g. KIZILDAĞ 2; KARADAĞ 1, §1) we do not get information about Luwian religion from them. Though the inscriptions from the first millennium can be geographically distributed to a southern and northern origin, their contents do not allow us to detect different religious concepts within them. According to the contents, these texts can be characterized as dedications of a stele, memorializing the construction of some buildings or as foundation documents for a house. Of more direct—or exclusive—relevance for the history of

[47] See for their beliefs Popko 1995 177-186.

religions are only a few texts, either some funerary inscriptions or a text mentioning offerings to the (divine) mount Harhara (HİSARCIK 1; Hawkins 2000 483): 'I (am) Warpiri (?) ... I celebrated Mount Harhara nine *times* (?) with an /irwa/-gazelle. And when (?) the 'year's ninth' comes, (as) I ...-ed you nine *times* (?) with an /irwa/-gazelle, I shall make your SISARALI- Kurti's servant...'. A similar memory of offerings made to this mountain-god was the topic of the text HİSARCIK 2, but we cannot deduce any general information from such offerings, such as whether gazelles were the most important sacrificial victims in the Tabalean cult.

Another aspect teaches us more about religious concepts. In the inscriptions we find two longer god-lists. One of the servants of Tuwati, the ruler of Tabal and father of the 'Great King' Wasusarma, has built some places (or shrines) for the following gods (ÇİFTLİK, §§8-10,15-18; cf. Hawkins 2000 449): 'Here Tarhunt and Hebat sit(s), [and here] Ea and Ku[baba] sit(s), and here Sharruma and Alasuwa sit(s). ... For Tuwati may also these gods come well, and to him to eat and to drink, and to him life of person may they give, and to him long days, [may] all the gods give these to him!' A similar context can be assumed for KULULU 5, which perhaps also deals with the building of 'houses' for the most important gods (KULULU 5, §§1-3,13-15; cf. Hawkins 2000 485f): 'The gods Tarhunt, Hebat, [Ea], Kubaba, Harranean Sharruma, Alasuwa, in the city Harmana, the Harranean Moon-god, the Sun-god ... [...]house-lord these houses [...] ... they gave them to Hulasaya the Sun-Blessed prince there. ... But (he) who guards these houses with goodness, for him may these gods come well! Let them [give] him to [eat]!'

These two god-lists[48] show some interesting features concerning the development of the 'Luwian' pantheon in Tabal: first we notice the continuing leading position of the Storm-god, a feature well established also in other inscriptions (e.g. AKSARAY, §§2,5; BOHÇA, §2; BULGARMADEN, §4). Comparable to the situation of the second millennium, we encounter some local or specified manifestations of the god (cf. section B.2.1.): Warpalawa, the king of Tuwana, made Tarhunt of the vineyard (cf. SULTANHAN, §2) his personal god

[48] A similar—but shorter—god-list we find in some inscriptions from the Commagene: ANCOZ 1, §4; ANCOZ 9, §2. We can further speculate whether the two unidentified god(desse)s in TOPADA §§17,30f,36,38 might be Hebat and Alasuwa as partners of Tarhunt and Sharruma.

(İVRİZ 1, §1; cf. BOR, §§3-4). The well-known rock relief from Ivriz shows the king with his god, who is holding grapes and grains. KULULU 1, §5, mentioning the Tarhunt of the mountains, shows that the Storm-god could be closely associated with mountains. One new aspect as a result of theological changes must not be overlooked. Tarhunt's companion in Tabal is Hebat,[49] so we have to assume that the Luwian Storm-god had become identified with or was at least understood as corresponding to the Hurrian Storm-god Teshub. We cannot date precisely when this Luwian-Hurrian syncretism actually took place in Tabal, but the god-lists show a deeply 'Hurrianized' pantheon.[50] Starting already during the Middle Hittite period in Kizzuwatna, Hebat had established close ties to Sharruma and Allanzu (= HLuwian Alasuwa) and was conceived as their mother. As Sharruma on his part was originally associated with the Hurrian Storm-god, in consequence Hebat and that Storm-god were then combined in priestly circles in Kizzuwatna. For the second millennium we have no further sources informing us whether these theological concepts already were known among the Luwians in the Lower Land, as was the case in Tabal in the 8th century. The other two gods mentioned in the lists, Ea and Kubaba, may also have entered the Tabalean pantheon by similar theological processes.

Kubaba is widely attested in HLuwian texts (Savaş 1998 17-29; Hawkins 1981), and her center has been Carchemish since the second millennium. Due to her dominant position in Carchemish (and the political role of Carchemish during the Hittite empire) her worship was also brought to other parts of Anatolia (cf. Hutter 1996 118f; Roller 1999 45f). Judging from this evidence, she surely gained importance as one of the central goddesses of Anatolia in the first millennium, being worshipped by Luwians and other people in the Tabal area. It is also worth mentioning that the extension of Kubaba's cult to central Anatolia in the early first millennium made it to some degree possible that among the Phrygians some external features of

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[49] Taking the god-lists as a starting point for 'Tabalean' religion, Kubaba cannot be taken as a later version of the Hurrian Hebat in Tabal (pace Bryce 1998 387).

[50] On the Hurrian pantheon in general cf. recently Trémouille 2000 122ff. Popko 1995 165f (with refs) has already drawn our attention to the Hurrian gods in the HLuwian inscriptions. For Hebat and her circle in the above mentioned god-lists cf. also Hutter 2001b 179f with refs.

the Phrygian Mother[51] were influenced by Kubaba, but such influences remained on a superficial level and did not really touch the character or the symbolism of the Phrygian goddess (Roller 1999 52f). In some inscriptions from Tabal Kubaba is mentioned together with the Harranean Moon-god, especially in curses against evildoers who destroy a monument or erase the inscription (KAYSERİ, §§11,16; SULTANHAN, §§31f; KARABURUN, §§10-12; BULGARMADEN, §§5,17). The Moon-god of Harran was widely known, and his cult was well established from the middle of the second millennium onwards. From the 9th century his worship spread even more from Harran to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, and to Anatolia too. The HLuwian evidence shows that he clearly overshadowed the Luwian Arma in Tabal.

In spite of these changes, aspects of continuity can be observed. The worship of the 'stag-god' Kurunta/Runtiya (cf. section B.3.), who is already well attested in the second millennium, continues in Tabal. I would like to draw attention to another interesting case: Among the gods of Huwassanna's circle in Hupisna (section C.2.2.) was a certain Muli. The texts for Huwassanna's cult give no details about his character. Now we can add some information from the first millennium. The local ruler Tarhunaza records in his inscription a donation given to him by his overlord Warpalawa (BULGARMADEN, §§2-4,10-12; Hawkins 2000 523): 'To my lord Warpalawa the King I was good, and to me the divine Mount Muti he gave, and for me Tarhunza and Kubaba prospered it...(He) who shall make himself governor for the divine Mount Muti, shall offer to Tarhunaza's gods /kurupi/-sheep year (by) year, and for him <may> the Mutian gods come well.' The rock inscription BULGARMADEN, found in situ on a flank of the Toros Dağ, was most probably placed on Mount Muti itself. This identification of Mount Muti with the Toros Dağ can further be sustained by an itinerary of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III who in 837 BCE on his way to Tabal passed Mount Muli[52] and then reached Hupisna (cf. Hawkins 1993-97;

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[51] Her Phrygian epithet *kubileya* which in later Greek tradition was taken as the goddess's name (Kybele) is not to be confused with the name Kubaba; cf. Roller 1999 46f with refs.

[52] Bearing in mind a change of /d/ with /l/ attested in Luwian (cf. Starke 1990 445 fn. 1601 and p. 181 in this volume) I think both names Muli/Muti can be taken as identical.

Hawkins 2000 432). From this first millennium evidence I cautiously suggest the following conclusion: the god Muli in Huwassanna's circle might have been a local Luwian mountain-god, located at or connected with the Toros Dağ. For the Luwians living in that area, this divine mountain continued to be a sacred place at least to the end of the 8th century.

Turning from the gods to expressions of religious thoughts in the HLuwian texts from Tabal, we find some interesting funerary inscriptions. In Ruwa's funerary inscription (KULULU 4) we learn about some Luwian values and we get a glimpse of an anthropological concept, a man consisting of his body and his soul that is put into the person by the gods. Also social conduct with others is mentioned as a value that was appreciated and practiced by Ruwa (cf. also section D.2.). Another funerary inscription (KULULU 3) for a certain Ilali, whose name seems to be theophoric referring to the divine name Ilali, mentions his justice as a 'moral value'. The theme of a funerary cult occurs also in KULULU 2, the memorial inscription for Panuni. He died while eating and drinking, accompanied by the god Santa, or—as I propose to take §3: 'I died eating and drinking with the god Santa'. The same idea we find in the Aramaic inscription of Panamuwa from Sam'al, where in connection with offerings to the Aramaic Storm-god Hadad the following is mentioned concerning the dead Panamuwa (cf. Hutter 1996 120 with refs): 'May Panamuwa's soul eat with you (Hadad), may Panamuwa's soul drink with you (Hadad).'

From such inscriptional information we can deduce that among the Luwians—note that also Panamuwa's name is Luwian, despite the Aramaic language of the inscription—there was even in the first millennium the belief that the dead ancestor together with a god receives funerary offerings. This idea is also illustrated by a number of funerary steles or statues, which show the deceased (together with a god) at a sacred meal. Both inscriptions and steles or statues are widespread, Tabal being at the western part of the whole area which covers southeastern Anatolia as well as northern Syria, with stylistically comparable funerary inscriptions in HLuwian, Aramaic and Phoenician (cf. Bonatz 2000 66-72). To a large extent such inscriptions have a common structure. Besides providing biographical and historical data about the dead ancestor, they also focus on the memory of the deceased, mentioning his justice or long life—as a token of

the gods' benevolence for him—and formulate curses against the one who will disturb the monument and the memory of the deceased. Dominik Bonatz (2000 161-167) is right in concluding his study by observing that all these statues and steles intend to preserve the collective identity of the community—either the 'political community' of city-states and dynasties or the 'private community' of a family in general. The evidence for a funerary cult at the end of the second millennium and in the first centuries of the first millennium seems to be a common bond of religious beliefs in the Iron Age in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. Religious conduct and acceptance of widely held values during one's lifetime lead as a result to the cultic treatment after death, executed by one's offspring. This is clearly expressed by Ilali (KULULU 3; Hawkins 2000 490f): 'I (am) Ilali, the Ruler, the Scribe. By my justice my [...] I...ed. To me my children ga[ve](?) ... and to me(?) [go]od bread [... ...] I went away, (my) children had this stele set up for me. (He) who *removes* this stele, [...]'. The Luwians shared these ideas with their contemporaries in Tabal and elsewhere. Even though these are impressive expressions of religious expectations they were not, of course, exclusively a Luwian religious feature.

Both the gods and the concepts of funeral monuments just mentioned show that Tabal in the early first millennium was by no means only a Luwian territory, thus comparable also to other 'Luwian' or 'Neo-Hittite' states in southeastern Anatolia (cf. Hutter 1996 122). Therefore the symbiosis of daily life, bringing together people of various ethnic origins, is also reflected in a 'Tabalean religion', consisting at least of elements which once may have originated in Luwian, Hurrian or West Semitic[53] thought. But we can no longer define this religion as 'Luwian' in a proper sense.

3. *Kizzuwatna*

At least since the 16th century Kizzuwatna had been a meeting place for Luwians and Hurrians, and its importance for the transfer and transformation of Luwian and Hurrian culture to the Hittite empire since the middle of the second millennium can hardly be over-

[53] This may be indicated by the still not fully edited inscription İVRİZ 2 with its HLuwian and Phoenician texts. The inscription dates to the reign of Warpalawa; cf. Hawkins 2000 526 with refs.

estimated (cf. section A.1. & C.3.). Turning to first millennium Cilicia,[54] the successor of second millennium Kizzuwatna, we find only a few minor HLuwian inscriptions known from that area, except for the famous HLuwian–Phoenician bilingual text from KARATEPE (Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000 48-58).

The main inscription, KARATEPE 1, is dedicated to the Storm-god Tarhunt, who in the Phoenician text is equated with Baal. One topic among others in the inscription describes how Azatiwada took care that this god should be venerated in his newly erected residence Azatiwadaya (KARATEPE 1, §§XLV-XLIX; Hawkins 2000 54f): 'And I built this (?) fortress, and therein I caused to dwell...Tarhunza, and every river-land will begin to honor him—by(?) the year an ox, and at the cutting(?) a sheep and at the vintage a sheep. Let him bless Azatiwada with health and life.' Thus we learn that the Storm-god was still held in high esteem in the late 8th or early 7th century,[55] but we cannot be absolutely sure whether the god's character remained unchanged since the second millennium, or if some features of giving general fertility and abundance had been added to the symbolism of Azatiwada's Storm-god, comparable to the case with Warpalawa's Storm-god in southern Tabal. Bearing in mind the relief from Ivriz, showing Tarhunt holding grain and wine grapes, one can assume a similar symbolism for Tarhunt in Azatiwadaya, too. In KARATEPE 1, §§LI-LIII (cf. §LV) we read (Hawkins 2000 55): 'And may Tarhunza the highly blessed and this fortress's gods give to him, Azatiwada, long days and many years and good abundance, and let them give him all victory over all kings. And so let this fortress become (one) of the Grain-god and the Wine-god.' Of course, the Storm-god is not directly identified with the Grain-god and the Wine-god, but the close association of the three might indicate this special aspect showing fertility and abundance connected with

[54] Taking into account the personal names from Greek sources of the second half of the first millennium, we find further theophoric elements (cf. section B.), showing Luwian gods still known in Cilicia. But these names hardly can offer information on cultic practices or on the gods' main aspects. So we have also to reckon with on-going syncretistic tendencies, as can be seen for Zeus of Corycos (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961 203ff): a list naming priests for this 'Zeus' from the third to the second century mentions many theophoric Luwian personal names referring to Tarhunt, but the myth of Typhon being slain by Zeus clearly reflects Hurrian mythology from the Kumarbi cycle.

[55] For the possible date of the KARATEPE 1 inscription cf. Hawkins 2000 44f.

Tarhunt. The inscription teaches us further that also the tutelary deity Runta, who was associated with animals of the open country, was worshipped. Also Ea is mentioned. Azatiwada's name and that of his fortress show a theophoric element relating to the Sun-god (cf. also KARATEPE 1, §LXXIII).

The bilingual text from KARATEPE and the newly published HLuwian-Phoenician bilingual inscription from ÇİNEKÖY (Tekoğlu —Lemaire 2000) show a fusion of people of Anatolian and West Semitic stock in Kizzuwatna. This symbiosis of Luwians and Semites is carried even further in the northern Syrian areas, and inscriptions from the Amuq valley, from Aleppo and its environs, and further from the area of Hama lead us to Syria proper. It is hard to discern whether we still have to deal there with larger numbers of Luwians or whether the Luwian language with its hieroglyphic script was adopted by non-Luwians, mainly Arameans. The spreading of the HLuwian language to northern Syria has one important aspect: it opened the way for an intensive syncretism between Luwians and Arameans in that area (cf. Hutter 1996). It further laid the ground for the historical possibilities of an influx of Anatolian ideas and religious thoughts to the Israelites. We learn from biblical sources and Assyrian historical records that there were both political and military contacts between the northern kingdom of Israel and the Luwian (and Aramean) states in northern Syria. It seems to be possible, but not strictly provable, that Hama, as the most southern state preserving HLuwian inscriptions and population, may have played a major role in transmitting Anatolian traditions to the biblical world (Hutter 2001c with refs). Though contacts between Anatolia and the area of the Hebrew Bible might already have begun during the second millennium (cf. Hoffner 2002b with refs), the contribution of the Luwian-Aramaic states was even more important. Thus it was ultimately due to the Luwians and their language that some slight knowledge about Anatolian culture first became known in Europe.

F. Conclusion: Luwian religion—a fragmentizing approach

We know from Hittite, Hurrian und CLuwian sources since the Middle Hittite period that there existed various ethnic groups with their languages in Anatolia. Generally they can be distributed roughly to geographical regions. For the Luwians I think we can also say

that they had religious concepts of their own, partly related to the Hittites, partly influenced by the Hurrians (cf. sections B., C., D.). But we must not overlook the fact that we have to reckon with the existence of 'other religions' too. Our still very scanty knowledge about the religious situation in (south)western Anatolia allows the question whether there existed some other religions[56] beside Luwian religion (cf. section E.1.). This second millennium situation also holds true for the first millennium in a general way, as these traditions lived on. Therefore we can detect elements of Luwian religion still in the first millennium, but the situation has changed, and we must be aware of some limitations. We clearly have witnesses of the continuing Luwian language after the fall of the Hittite empire. Of course, the Luwian population groups lived on. But as we cannot simply identify language wholly with ethnicity, the historian of religions faces a problem: the HLuwian texts (and—to a minor degree—Luwian words or names preserved in Greek texts) do not necessarily preserve religious ideas of Luwians only,[57] but also of other people, who might have used this language in the first millennium, as we have seen above from the inscriptions from Tabal and Cilicia. It is also necessary once more to call to our attention the fact that we have no written Luwian sources for the area of the Arzawan lands for the centuries after the end of the Hittite empire. Therefore our investigation of continuity and change necessarily must remain provisional. In my opinion the following preliminary conclusions can be drawn concerning the history of religions in the Luwian area from the second millennium to the early first millennium BCE.

For Luwian religion in the second millennium, we have to take at least a twofold approach. In the Arzawan lands at that time we found political entities of their own, partly even independent from the Hittites. In this area Luwian religion and Luwian ethnicity were closely connected to each other. In the Lower Land and in Kizzuwatna

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[56] One might even speculate whether 'Lycian religion', which is relatively well known and shows some special features not related to our knowledge of Luwian traditions from the second millennium, could be a first millennium successor of such a religion. Though some Luwian gods are also known in Lycian religion, there are also obvious differences from religious traditions known from the HLuwian corpus. Therefore Lycian religion was not included in this study.

[57] In this sense I think that Popko's (1995 163-171) contribution to 'Gods of the Luwians in the first millennium' with the useful data provided by him is a little bit too optimistic concerning 'Luwian' beliefs.

another situation appeared, as in these areas Luwians lived among people from another ethnic background. This situation continued up to the first millennium, but the emergence of new local (city)-states brought one important change for the history of religion. The HLuwian language still functioned as a common bond in the minor states in Tabal, thus most probably starting a unifying process also among the different population groups concerning their religious concepts. Therefore the traditions from Tabal no longer can be attributed to 'Luwian religion' exclusively, but we find various traditions melting together. In other words, we observe a change from 'Luwian' (or even 'Hurrian' or 'Syrian') religion to a new 'Tabalean' religion, which is made up from these different traditions, but—as is clearly the case with the funerary cult—which works as a system of symbols and thoughts to preserve life and hope for the help of the gods. Some gods bear Luwian names, others continue the Hurrian pantheon of the second millennium. An analogous process took place in Kizzuwatna and the adjacent northern Syrian areas, where HLuwian script and language were in use. So these HLuwian sources show some kind of 'globalisation', bringing various Anatolian religious traditions in contact with northern Syrian and Aramaic traditions. Therefore it will be better to concede that we can speak of 'Luwian religion' only for the second millennium. Elements from this religion continued to the first millennium, but they were open to change due to their mingling with other traditions. As a result we have to reckon with new (local) religions in the 'Neo-Hittite' states. These religions should best not be labeled as 'Luwian' if we do not want to use 'Luwian' as an (unspecific) umbrella term, harmonizing all our knowledge about culture we obtain from the HLuwian corpus of the Iron Age.

At the moment we are far away from writing a *history of Luwian religion*, so it was only possible to describe some *aspects* of Luwian religion. I have taken a fragmentizing approach to the study of religion instead of a harmonizing approach. We should not describe or seek the (philosophical) essence of Luwian religion or any other religion, but we have to analyze all forms of religious practice in relation to its historical and sociological surroundings and contexts. Therefore we had to focus on local Luwian cults, to see how they were practiced for concrete communities or individuals. At the moment such an approach necessarily remains 'fragmentizing', because of our limited sources. Therefore we have to wait to achieve further

knowledge about the religious traditions among the Luwians until such time as new written sources may turn up. Especially from western Anatolia sources from the second millennium would be highly welcome that do not only represent the perception of 'Luwian religion' from the Hittite point of view, as is the case with our CLuwian texts found in Hattusa. Then it might be possible to comprehend in a better way how the various local Luwian communities interacted together in the field of religion, gaining their common Luwian identity also by the means of religion.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

SANNA ARO

A. SCOPE OF THIS CHAPTER & TERMINOLOGY

A chapter on Luwian art and architecture seems an odd idea, for until now the term 'Luwian' has been used only as an ethnolinguistic and sometimes as a historical designation (Bryce 1997; Starke 1999b). This restricted usage of the term is mostly due to the research history and the general development of terminology in Ancient Near Eastern studies. In the cultural field of the second half of the second millennium BCE all monuments have been considered to be of Hittite craftsmanship, even if H.G. Güterbock already in 1957 stressed the fact that the speakers of the Nesite language were not the only bearers of Anatolian material culture (1957a).

In regard to the first millennium BCE, 'Neo-Hittite', 'Late Hittite' and 'Syro-Hittite' are widely used in recent handbooks to designate the civilization of both the Luwian- and Aramaean-speaking centers in northern Syria, one exception being J. Mellaart using 'East Luwian' (1978 79-83). The reason for this is the general opinion that no obvious stylistic distinction can be made between these two population groups in terms of their art and architectural styles. So the question 'what kind of material culture did the Luwians have' has really not been asked so far.

This chapter concentrates mostly on the Luwians in their Iron Age context for the simple reason that for the Bronze Age period there is very little if any archaeological material at all which could clearly be assigned to be Luwian. Here the newest research will be reviewed briefly in order to show the problems and perspectives in identifying Bronze Age Luwians in the archaeological record.

For the Luwians in the Iron Age the division of what to include and what to exclude is mainly made according to the appearance of

HLuwian inscriptions, i.e. to areas and sites where monuments are immediately linked with written documents. This selection made here is meant to serve only the scope and purpose of this handbook and tries to give an idea of the material surroundings of the ruling class of Iron Age city-states which used the HLuwian writing system. The starting point here is the assumption that the Iron Age rulers using Luwian language in their representational inscriptions did either speak it themselves or otherwise wanted to be identified as representatives of their Luwian-speaking people. However this may be, it seems clear that very many, if not all northern Syrian sites undoubtedly bear mixed ethnicity (Lebrun 1993 13; Kuhrt 1995 400-411; Hutter 1996 116) and there is no possibility (nor is it feasible) to draw any clear line between the Luwians and the Aramaeans or to distinguish Aramaean or Luwian styles in craftsmanship. Furthermore, it is probable and even certain that the actual designers or executors of the architectural and artistic works did not belong to the same ethnic and linguistic group as those who commissioned them. But despite the complexity of the question of ethnicity, race and cultural identity, we cannot totally underestimate the value of these written documents and refuse to see the Luwian element in this area, especially when taking the linguistic evidence into consideration. It is impossible to understand how this language could have flourished and developed in northern Syria for such a long period if nobody spoke it as their mother tongue.

We are thus not dealing here with a simple equation of language, ethnicity and art style which is possible in some ancient cultures like Greece or Egypt. Rather I simply take the inscriptions as a starting point in reviewing what is left of the material culture of the people who created these inscriptions. In analogy we do not take Etruscan art to be peripheral Greek art just because it is highly derivative from Greek models and we know that a great deal of what we call 'Etruscan art' was actually produced by Greeks (Spivey 1997 11-13).

The archaeological material of the first millennium BCE, which we here call Luwian, has previously been titled mainly 'North Syrian', 'Late Hittite' or 'Syro-Hittite' (German 'späthethitisch' and 'syro-hethitisch') implying a common denominator between the Luwian and Aramean centers (Orthmann 1971 7; Genge 1979 1). Additionally there are 'exclusively Luwian' city-states of the central Anatolian plateau (Tabal), where multiple, though often very badly preserved

pieces of art have been found. Many of these objects are quite fragmentary; others are fairly new finds and have thus not been treated in the earlier overall reviews of Late Hittite art. For some of these pieces W. Orthmann has even stated that it is doubtful if they belong to the 'Late Hittite' cultural sphere (1971 115). Whether the stylistical analysis of the central Anatolian material allows us to use the label 'Late Hittite' for them or not is unimportant here since we are interested in their Luwian aspect. So I shall concentrate slightly more on the less well-known evidence of the material remains of Luwian-speaking areas. What is possible to offer is not an updated version of the things which make up 'Late Hittite' art, but we rather approach the material from a slightly different point of view: that is, Luwian.

So here monuments found in such areas as central, south and southeastern Anatolian Tabal, Cilicia, Malatya, Kummuh and Maraş are regarded as Luwian. In northern Syria, a site which always has been categorised as linguistically Luwian and thus also as belonging to the Luwian artistic sphere is Carchemish (contra: Bryce in this volume p. 126f). The excavations at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century revealed a great number of HLuwian inscriptions, and most of the sculptural and architectural material is immediately linked to these inscriptions. It is, however, interesting to note that very close to Carchemish, just across the river Euphrates, a site with numerous clay tablets written with Aramaic alphabets has been excavated (Fales 1996; Fortin 1999, 227; Fig. 249). Thus, this area seems clearly to be bilingual. Furthermore, scholars do not agree on whether Til Barsip (modern Tell Ahmar) was a Neo-Hittite or an Aramaean city and whether there was a change of power from Luwian to Aramaean rulers just before the city was overtaken by the Assyrians (Bunnens 1995b; Lipinski 2000 127). S. Dalley has recently argued for the irrelevance of this question, suggesting that it was local skills and traditions, not ethnic grouping, which dictated the choice of script (2000 80-87). In any case the stelae which are under consideration here bear also a HLuwian inscription and so fall here in the category of Luwian art.

Also such sites as Tell Tayinat, 'Ain Dara and Aleppo are regarded here as Luwian. Aleppo was a center of the Storm-god, the HLuwian stela found in Babylon (Hawkins 2000 pl. 209) was originally erected there, and some of the newly discovered reliefs from the temple of the Storm-god are labelled with hieroglyphs (Kohlmeyer 2000). In

Tell Tayinat the archaeological material and in 'Ain Dara the epigraphic evidence for Luwians are scanty, but both the historical sources as well as the absence of written sources in other languages speak for the Luwian character of the area (Hawkins 2000 361-365). In the case of Hama the building levels F and E certainly belong to the pre-Aramaic period of the city-state and fall here into the category of 'Luwian' (Hawkins 2000 402).

This chapter excludes, on the other hand, a treatment of the material remains of Sam'al (Zincirli), for there are no HLuwian inscriptions found on this site except a signet ring bearing the name of the king Bar-Rakib (Friedrich 1957; Hawkins 2000 576), and all the written sources which can be connected to art and architecture are in West Semitic language and script. This decision certainly seems to be sort of hairsplitting, since some of the rulers of Sam'al do have Luwian names, and the earlier orthostat reliefs from this site bear a great affinity with those from Carchemish, some scholars regarding the early dynasty of Sam'al to have been Luwian (Klengel 2000 27). There also exist several quite convincing theories about travelling craftsmen working in several political centers of the area (Winter 1983 181-182; Mazzoni 1986-87; Mazzoni 2000 32) Nevertheless, J. D. Hawkins has shown that the deities depicted on the reliefs of the 'Outer Citadel Gate' in Sam'al represent Aramaean gods, even if their iconography was borrowed from the 'Long Wall of Sculpture' in Carchemish (Hawkins 1984 76-77).

In the case of Sakça Gözü on the other hand—which geographically lies between Sam'al and Maraş—since no inscriptions have been found, the classification either to the Luwian or to the Aramean population group is extremely difficult. Iconographically and stylistically the monuments there are highly influenced by Neo-Assyrian models (Orthmann 1971 79-82).

What has also been excluded here are monuments in the northwestern part of the central Anatolian plateau, which in the first half of the first millennium politically belong probably to the Phrygian realm, and are disputed both chronologically as well as stylistically. Such are for example the rock reliefs of Midas City (Akurgal 1958 147-155; Prayon 1987 87-89) and the stela of Daydalı/Emirdağ (Akurgal 1949 80-94; Prayon 1987 79-84; Akurgal 1995 fig. 158a-c). Even if both show some Luwian traits, they are located in an area

where no Luwian inscriptions of the first millennium have so far been found.

Furthermore, this chapter does not deal with art handicrafts like seals, ivories, metalwork or pottery. Even if some workshops of minor arts have been proposed to have flourished in such Luwian centers as Carchemish, Kummuh (Winter 1983 184-186) and even Tabal (Rittig 1994), very little material and no actual workshops have been found in the sites themselves. Here the real connection to the Luwians escapes us.

B. Luwian Art and Architecture in the Bronze Age?

The arrival of the Luwians in Anatolia is not discernible in the archaeological record, and since the date of their immigration is also not known to us (see Bryce in this volume p. 27) it is difficult to attribute any Early or Middle Bronze Age material to this population group. When looking for traces of Late Bronze Age Luwian art and architecture, we are faced with the problems of modern archaeology. Up to now hardly any relevant sites have been excavated, although this same period has yielded ample literary evidence for Luwians in large areas of Anatolia—also in those territories which politically belonged to Hittite Empire (Carruba 1995b 63; Starke 1997a 456f). Seton Lloyd (1956 153-154) wrote almost a half a century ago about the paucity of archaeological information concerning Arzawa, the most important Luwian state known from the written sources, and we are actually almost in the same position today as then. Fortunately, the political and cultural role played by Luwians in Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age has recently begun to receive more attention, and there is hope that it will also intensify the archaeological exploration.

In the western part of Anatolia, where Luwian cities and towns of such political entities as Arzawa and Mira are expected to lie, only a few large-size centers with Late Bronze Age occupation have ever been a target of archaeological research. To be named here is naturally Beycesultan near the modern town of Afyon which is one of the largest mounds in southwest Anatolia. In six seasons of excavations from 1954 to 1959 architectural structures of the 14th to 11th centuries were discovered (Lloyd 1972), but because the site failed to produce any inscriptions, the core question of the time—whether it was the

capital of Arzawa or not—remained unanswered (Mellaart 1974; Mellaart and Murray 1995 96). The archaeological remains, both the architecture and pottery, indicate however an independent cultural sphere different from that of the Hittites in Boğazköy or the Mycenaean realm in mainland Greece. The capital city of the land of Mira, on the other hand, was thought to be in Beyköy, also in the vicinity of Afyon, where W. R. Ramsay discovered a HLuwian inscription at the end of 19th century. The survey and test soundings made in the area did not confirm this identification (Gonnet 1981; Gonnet 1994; see also Hawkins 1998b 24-25).

In recent years, however, the historical geography of Anatolia in the latter half of the second millennium has been clarified a great deal. The contents of the HLuwian inscription of Tudhaliya IV from Yalburt was made available to the scholars, and the famous Bronze Tablet found in Boğazköy in 1988 enabled rapid progress in anchoring many topographical names on the geographical map (Starke 1997a). The final breakthrough was made by J. D. Hawkins in reading the heretofore illegible HLuwian inscription of Karabel. With the aid of these results a new proposition for the location of the capital of Arzawa was made, and there is now hope that the identification of Apasa with the acropolis of Ayasuluk in Ephesos (modern Selçuk) will be confirmed also by future archaeological research (Hawkins 1998b 24). Recent activities there have already revealed Late Bronze Age pottery and parts of a Bronze Age fortification wall (Niemeyer 1999; Büyükkolancı 2002). The most tantalizing support for placing Apasa in Ephesos is a clay analysis made of the so-called Arzawa-letter from Tell Amarna which strongly points to an Ephesian origin for the tablet.[1] There are also some other Late Bronze Age sites on the Anatolian western shore. We have for example results from Panaztepe and Limantepe both near Izmir (Graeves and Helwing 2001 504-505). In Panaztepe the second millennium settlement has been badly destroyed by later Greek and Roman occupation, but a necropolis has been excavated (Günel 1999).

[1] This is a result of the Tell Aviv based project 'Provenance Study of the Amarna Letters', presented by Prof. Yuval Goren at the Vth International Congress for Hittitology in Çorum in September 2002. The written publication of the research will appear soon.

Closely linked with the other developments in Luwian studies are the new excavations of Troy taking place since 1987. Preliminary reports are published yearly in the project's own series *Studia Troica*. Very many scholars, basing their opinions on the new archaeological results on Hisarlik and on the new scheme of Hittite historical geography, identify this site and its surroundings with the Luwian state of Wilusa mentioned in the Hittite sources (Niemeyer 1999 143 and n. 22; Starke 2001; Latacz 2002; contra: Ünal 1999 135-147). A few colleagues also believe (partly on the testimony of one hieroglyphic seal found in Troy in 1995) that Troy belonged to the Luwian-speaking area (Korfmann 1999 35, but see also Neumann 1999). Must we then conclude that Troy VI was a Luwian city? Should we interpret the fortification structures and public buildings on the citadel to be Luwian architecture par exellence? Despite the high probability that the equation of Wilusa and Troy is correct we should not jump to such conclusions too easily. The sheer lack of evidence inhibits us from making any definition of Bronze Age Luwian art and architecture, and as long as there is no comparative material for the architectural structures in Troy, this problem remains unsolved.

This is about as far as we can get tracing Luwians in the Late Bronze Age Anatolia. But is it true that the existence of Luwians can be ascertained *only* from their linguistic legacy as E. Akurgal states (1996 219)? A strong Luwian impact on Hittite Imperial culture has long been acknowledged (see Bryce in this volume p. 84) but their possible role in the genesis and development of the rock reliefs has not been much discussed. According to the earlier handbooks these monuments are exclusively Hittite workmanship and manifestations of the central Hittite power (Gurney 1962 198) or at least a sign of Hittite influence on local authorities (Orthmann 1975 105). Today, however, based on the convincing dechipherment of the HLuwian inscription connected with the rock reliefs of Karabel (Hawkins 1998b), we know that such rock monuments were not only executed by the Hittite Great Kings but also by Luwian rulers of Arzawa and Mira. Indeed it was long believed that the figure presented in Karabel *should* be one of the Hittite kings (Akurgal 1962 116; Mayer-Opificius 1996 173). Additionally there is one very recent find of a HLuwian rock inscription in 2000 in Suratkaya in the vicinity of Miletos bearing at least a name of a local crown prince, perhaps Kuruntа-Kuwaliya (Peschlow 2000; Peschlow-Bindokat 2002; Peschlow-

Bindokat and Herbordt 2001). Since the first datable rock reliefs only belong to the period of the Great King Muwattalli II (ca. 1295-1272), we do not yet have the possibility of setting all these monuments in a definite chronological order and thus cannot claim priority of the monuments in the Luwian areas. Nevertheless it is plausible that rock monuments could have a Luwian rather than Hittite origin (see also Pecorella 1994 207). The question remains also whether we should, for example, see the rock relief of Hatip (Dinçol 1998a and 1998b), erected in the Luwian land of Tarhuntassa but by a descendant of the Hittite imperial family, as a Luwian or a Hittite monument. What about the architectural finds in such sites as Kilise Tepe (Symington 2001 with further refs) and Sirkeli (Hrouda 1997) in Cilicia? The exploration of the Late Bronze Age sites in western and southern Anatolia is still in its infancy, but hopefully further 'Luwian-oriented' research will enable us to achieve a clearer picture of their material culture.

C. Luwian art and architecture in the Iron Age context

1. *State of research and limits of present overview*

1.1 *Archaeological research*

Very many excavations were conducted at an early date, and even up to the present research and discovery in Anatolia and northern Syria have been anything but thorough and consistent. Numerous sites were visited and stray finds made by travelling scholars in the late 19th and early 20th century, but also today monuments are being found by chance, like the statue of the Storm-god with the bilingual inscription found in Çineköy near Adana in 1997 (Ipek, Tosun and Tekoğlu 1999; Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000). Most of the modern field expeditions have not been successful in finding substantial architectural remains or sculpture, but only a little has been researched so far, leaving vast areas practically untouched by archaeologists.

Carchemish[2] on the western bank of the Euphrates was explored under the auspices of the British Museum by P. Henderson from 1879 to 1881, then by D. G. Hogarth, Campbell-Thompson, and T.

[2] For the historical context of this site see Hawkins 1976-80 and Hawkins 2000 73-79.

E. Lawrence, by C. L. Woolley from 1911 to 1914, and again by C. L. Woolley in 1920 (Hawkins 1997b). We know the general outline of the Iron Age city, but due to the fact that the excavators mainly revealed the sculpted orthostat façades of the buildings, leaving the inner structures unexcavated, we have limited information about the architectural features or of the stratigraphy of this very important town. Only a very small part of the entire mound could be exposed then, and unfortunately its politically sensitive position will probably prevent research also in the future.

Another large tell in the vicinity of Carchemish is Tell Ahmar, which was first excavated 1928-1931 by the famous French Assyriologist F. Thureau-Dangin (1929; Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936). He found an Assyrian palace decorated with wall paintings but also several stelae depicting the Storm-god with HLuwian inscriptions and some fragments of orthostats clearly belonging to the pre-Assyrian levels. The research here was resumed in 1988 by an Australian team, and although no remains dating from the pre-Assyrian Iron Age have been found, some new hieroglyphic stelae have come to light (Weiss 1997 100-104; Roobaert and Bunnens 1999 167; Hawkins 1996-97). These inscriptions confirm the earlier suggestion of J.D. Hawkins (1983) that the Luwian name of the city was Masuwari.

Aleppo and its cult-centre of the Storm-god was previously known only through written sources. Its Luwian character could only be assumed by the basalt stela found in Babylon in 1899. This stela bears a figure of the Storm-god of Aleppo, and the HLuwian inscription describes its dedication to this deity. Fortunately, parts of a magnificent temple have now been uncovered on the citadel of Aleppo (Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 1998; Kohlmeyer 2000)

In 1932-1937 the Oriental Institute of Chicago conducted a survey and excavations in the archaeologically rich plain of Amuq where the remains of Tell Tayinat, Çatal Hüyük and Tell Judeideh were excavated (McEwan 1937). All these mounds yielded some Iron Age material, but HLuwian inscriptions and major architectural structures were only found in Tell Tayinat. The ancient name of this town remains uncertain, even if it probably should be identified with Kunalua, the capital city of Unqi/Patina (Hawkins 2000 361-365). Surveys and excavations have been continued on the Amuq, but the focus of the research is on earlier periods (Graeves and Helwing 2001 481-482).

Another important site belonging to Unqi is 'Ain Dara (Abū 'Assāf 1990).

The southernmost source for HLuwian stone monuments is Hama on the Orontes river. A Danish team explored the citadel in the heart of the modern town between 1931 and 1938. Since the major HLuwian inscriptions from Hama were not found during these excavations, there have been difficulties in connecting the right building phases to the Pre-Aramean period (Hawkins 2000 402).

At Malatya on the upper Euphrates first monuments came to light already in 1894 on the ancient mound called Arslantepe. A French expedition first started archaeological research from 1932 to 1938 under L. Delaporte (1940), and these were first continued by C. Schaeffer and later by the Italians since 1961 (Frangipane 1993-1995). Later research at Arslantepe has concentrated on the chalcolithic and EBA periods of the settlement and have shed no new light on the Hittite and Luwian eras (Frangipane 1997).

A source of numerous stelae, lion sculpture and statue fragments is Kahramanmaraş (earlier Maraş), which probably conceals the capital city of ancient Marqas (Hawkins 2000 249-252). No systematic archaeological research has been done in the center of the town, but in the 1990's there has been an archaeological survey in the broad valley region south of Kahramanmaraş conducted by an American expedition (Carter 1995 and 1996). Regarding the first millennium, the most interesting finds of this survey have been a basalt stela with a ruler figure and a trilingual inscription from Incirli (Gates 1995 217-218) and an unfinished gate lion, lying apparently in situ in a stone quarry (Carter 1996 Pl. I-II Fig. 4).

In the area of ancient Kummuh-Commagene the finds at our disposal do not stem from regular excavations, and probably many of the key sites of this area have been flooded by the Atatürk Barrage (Hawkins 2000 331). On the other hand, villages in the vicinity of the modern town Şanlıurfa (earlier Urfa) have yielded pieces of stelae and other sculpture (Kulakoğlu 1999).

In the Cilician area Yümüktepe in Mersin (Garstang 1953) and Gözlü Kule in Tarsus (Goldman 1956) were the focus of earlier excavations, and more modern stratigraphic work has been carried out in Mersin by Veli Sevin (Graeves and Helwing 2001 483). Recent projects have been begun also in Soli (Yağci 2001) and Kinet Hüyük (Gates 2000 and 2001; Graeves and Helwing 2001 490-492).

None of these sites have so far revealed any substantial material in terms of Luwian art or architecture, but one of the most spectacular finds of the 20th century is Karatepe in northeastern Cilicia, where a citadel, orthostat reliefs and a long Phoenician-Hieroglyphic Luwian bilingual was discovered in 1946 (Bossert and Alkım 1947; Bossert et al 1950). H. Th. Bossert guided the excavations until 1948, and H. Çambel has continued the research (since 1997 with the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul) up to the present (Sicker-Akman 1999; Çambel 2001). Parallel to the work done in Karatepe, the neighbouring mound Domuztepe situated on the other side of the Ceyhan river was also visited, the scattered sculpture fragments were collected and some test trenches dug (Alkım 1952; Çambel, Akif Işin and Sadler 1989). The above-mentioned statue of the Storm-god (p. 288) found recently at Çineköy is important both from the historical as well as from stylistic point of view.

On the central Anatolian plateau, generally designated as Tabal, large-scale excavations of Iron Age sites have been lacking so far (detailed in Aro 1998 12-28). Many monuments were used as building material in old churches or mosques and have been found accidentally. In Kültepe and Kululu the later Hellenistic and Roman occupation has rendered the earlier layers difficult to excavate and actually has destroyed much of them (Özgüç 1971; 1973). Kululu, which is the source of multiple sculptural fragments, has been researched only very briefly and not over a substantial area. The material remains of the ancient site of Tuwana lie under the modern village of Kemerhisar, and is thus excluded from major archaeological projects (Berges 2002). The mountain site of Göllüdağ some forty kilometers northwest of Niğde has been under research first by Turkish scholars in 1934 and 1968-69 (Arık 1936; Tezcan 1992), and more recently Wulf Schirmer from Karlsruhe has contributed especially with digital maps of the area and some test trenches (1993a; 1993b; 1996). The most recent work initiated in this area seems to be the topographical research of Kızıldağ near Karaman which hopefully can clarify the chronological problems attached to the HLuwian inscriptions and the rock-relief of the great king Hartapu (Karauğuz, Bahar and Kunt 2002).

In regard to archaeological and historical maps the most recent ones are those by F. Starke in the exhibition catalogue *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich* (2002) which show Luwian sites and territories. For

the archaeological material of the Iron Age Luwians the best contribution has been made in the colossal series of *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (Prayon 1991; Prayon and Wittke 1994).

1.2 *Monographs and handbooks on art and architecture*

In terms of larger overall views of Luwian monuments the monographs of E. Akurgal (1949) and W. Orthmann (1971) are quoted most frequently, whereas the critical analysis of H. Genge (1979) has won little acceptance. The monograph of K. Bittel on Hittite art of 1976 also has its own chapter on Late Hittites, in which the earlier datings of E. Akurgal seem to have been used (see below p. 294f). Of the plentiful works of synthesis on Hittite or Near Eastern art and architecture, the chapter in the handbook by H. Frankfort (1954) should be mentioned. It has rather extreme views on style and chronology, and unfortunately it was reprinted in 1996. In very many encyclopedias one can find the Luwian monuments treated as Hittite art, and the better ones among these general overviews define the term as covering objects found in the political sphere of the Hittites and not as bearing an ethnic definition (Furlani 1961). More recent treatments of Hittite art including the Iron Age period have appeared by Turkish colleagues in Turkish (Darga 1992, Akurgal 1995; Akurgal 1998). A handbook of Early Turkey by M. Sharp Joukowsky (1996) is mainly written for students. Some shorter representations of Hittite and 'Neo-Hittite' art and architecture include Kohlmeyer (1995) and generally on Tabalian culture Sevin (1998).

Specialized analyses focusing on one particular aspect of Late Hittite art or architecture are virtually nonexistent. However a recent study by D. Bonatz (2000) has produced a useful insight into the 'Syro-Hittite' grave stelae and free-standing sculpture. The material culture of Tabal is dealt with briefly by S. Aro (1998 160-222). Now that text sources have opened for us new perspectives in the study of the Luwians (Hawkins 2000), one can only hope that more detailed studies will be published in the future.

In summary, regarding the material culture of the Luwians, archaeological investigations carried out up to now have not been adequate, and thus no clear statements about public architecture or settlement patterns can be made on the basis of excavation reports. And because the available information is still too patchy for a balanced overall picture, one can hardly produce any far-reaching socio-political

interpretations concerning Luwian art and architecture. Refined analyses are out of the question here, even if there is no doubt that in the future modern archaeological approaches will certainly contribute to a richer understanding of the Iron Age Luwians.

2. *Datings of Luwian art in the Iron Age*

Scholars have struggled a great deal with the dating of the Luwian monuments throughout, and we are still hampered in our understanding of the development of Luwian art because there are so few monuments which can be dated exactly or even relatively. The difficulties in establishing a reliable chronological sequence of the monuments are due to many facts:

(1) As pointed out above, many key sites for Luwian Iron Age material were excavated at an early date when stratigraphy was often inadequately observed and/or recorded. So we do not have the means for instance to compare the pottery found in the relevant contexts and use cross-datings with the aid of relative and absolute sequences from the more modern excavations.

(2) At the beginning of the research there existed divergent readings and datings for the HLuwian inscriptions, so they did not much help to create a reliable chronological framework. This caused some mistrust among the archaeologists towards the inscription-based chronologies and led some colleagues to disregard totally the philological evidence and to use a stylistic-sequence dating only. And even now when we are able to read the names of most rulers on the inscriptions, these do not often match the kings mentioned in the better datable Neo-Assyrian sources. One disturbing example is the king Sangara of Carchemish. He is referred to several times in the Neo-Assyrian annals between 866-849 BCE, but none of the buildings and monuments unearthed sofar can be attributed to him (Hawkins 2000 75-76; contra: Ussishkin 1967c). In the case of Carchemish it is also possible that Sangara concentrated his building activities in some part of the town which is still untouched by archaeologists.

(3) The whole corpus of material is of uneven quality, and because the Luwian city-states lacked a centralized power to set the standards for a style, as for example in the Neo-Assyrian empire, a clear homogeneous development in style is thus not traceable.

(4) There is clear evidence for the fact that several sites underwent refurbishments and rebuildings during these centuries and/or were badly destroyed either during foreign occupation or in the Hellenistic/Roman periods. So even if stone slabs were actually found *in situ*, they often raised the question of their being reused in the context where they were found.

All these circumstances have caused a great variety of different groupings and chronologies for the material, and no agreement on the datings of the monuments has been reached. For a general reader with no expertise in Anatolian and northern Syrian archaeology, different datings given in different handbooks, often written by very prominent scholars, can be somewhat confusing.

In principle we have an upper and lower limit for the monuments of the Iron Age, i.e. the upper limit consisting of the destruction of the Hittite empire around 1180 and a lower limit at the end of the 8th century when the Luwian centers were annexed to the Assyrian empire. Earlier, the link between the Empire period and the Early Iron Age monuments was not clear at all, and it was not until the 1980's that some new finds, like the sealing of the king Kuzi-Teshub of Carchemish (Hawkins 1988), provided some inscriptional help to dispel the obscurity of the period between 1200-950. This was of particular help in redating numerous monuments in the area of Malatya where the earliest Iron Age rulers were descendants of Kuzi-Teshub (Hawkins 2000 286-288). The break with HLuwian traditions in the second half of the 8th century seems to be total at least for the northern Syrian sites, and only E. Akurgal has dated any monuments from Carchemish or elsewhere after 717 (Akurgal 1966 123; Akurgal 2001 214). For the central Anatolian plateau where the Assyrian power was not long-lasting there are some hints for the continuation of the Luwian traditions, but clear evidence is still lacking (Aro 1998 93-94). Also the building activities in Karatepe have been dated by some scholars to belong to the very late 8th or early 7th century (Winter 1979 150-151; Hawkins 2000 44-45).

After the pioneering work done for example by E. Pottier (1926), W. von Bissing (1930-31) and V. Christian (1933-34), fhe first attempt to create a general framework of chronological phases for Late Hittite sculptural monuments was made by E. Akurgal. He suggested a division into three stylistic periods, i.e. 'altspäthethitisch' (Early

Neo-Hittite), 'mittelspäthethitisch' (Middle Neo-Hittite) and 'jung-späthethitisch' (Late Neo-Hittite) (1949 139-144). This chronological sequence was based on the growing degree of Assyrian influence in style and iconography. The first study of E. Akurgal from 1949 was a solid piece of scholarship, and it was rightly used as guideline until the revaluation of the material by W. Orthmann in 1971. In his later works E. Akurgal changed his datings considerably, and it is unfortunate that these are being repeated by him into the 21st century (2001). One crucial alteration was made in 1966 when he identified Katuwa, king of Carchemish, known from the HLuwian inscriptions and sculptural work connected with them, with Pisiri, attested in Neo-Assyrian sources as the last king of Carchemish before 717 BCE (1966 109). So, contrary to what has usually and plausibly been supposed, namely that Katuwa reigned ca. 900 BCE, Akurgal dates all monuments erected by him to the second half of the eighth century BCE. This chronological distortion was followed by setting the reliefs belonging to Yariri from the so-called Royal Buttress [Pl. XIII] to the phase after the capture of the town by the Assyrians (1966 121-123; 2001 214).

The chronological subdivision created by W. Orthmann in his monograph (1971) is still widely referred to in most of the other treatments. Basically he created a system similar to that of E. Akurgal, calling his phases 'späthethitisch I' (ca. 1000-950), 'späthethitisch II' (ca. 950-850) and 'späthethitisch III', with the last phase having two subdivisions into IIIa (ca. 850-750) and IIIb (ca. 750-700). 'Späthethitisch I' comprises the archaic style with no Assyrian affinities, 'späthethitisch II' shows the beginning of the Assyrian influence in the area, and 'späthethitisch III' the increasing Assyrian presence. W. Orthmann also made use of the possibilities of cross-dating the monuments with the aid of HLuwian and Neo-Assyrian inscriptions.

One of the crucial points in creating absolute dates for Luwian art has been the question of which artistic principles and iconographic features are genuinely Anatolian and which are of Neo-Assyrian influence imported into the area only in the ninth century BCE. Monuments in northern Syria were often dated according to the date of appearance of some details in the Neo-Assyrian monuments, building thus a *terminus post quem*. It was soon realized, however, that the influences could not go in one direction only, and that some

compositions evidently stem from the Luwian repertoire and have been taken over by the Assyrians (Güterbock 1957b 65). While a few decades ago there still existed the perception that none of the Luwian sculptures could have been executed without a knowledge of Neo-Assyrian art (Frankfort 1954 175; Mallowan 1972 63), many recent studies on the naissance of the Neo-Assyrian palaces are of the opinion that such concepts as *bît ḫilani*, the guarding lions on the gates, and sculptured reliefs were borrowed from northern Syria to Assyria (Reade 1983 17; Winter 1987; Bunnens 1995a; Matthiae 1999 13).

There are some sites and monuments whose datings have been more debated than others. The so-called Lion Gate and the adjacent sculpted reliefs of Malatya [Pl. X], for example, have been dated from the 13th to the 8th century. These are all archaic-looking, but whether they really belong to the early period or merely show an archaizing style was disputed for a long time (Güterbock 1957b 64; Hawkins 1982 385). Now the better understanding of the textual sources for Malatya has undermined their position as very early in the sequence of Luwian art (Hawkins 2000 286-289), a view now accepted also by many archaeologists (Kohlmeyer 1995 2656; Mazzoni 1997 310-311; Bonatz 2000 200 n. 243; Orthmann 2002 277). This however does not help us with the question of whether the gate lions and the reliefs were reused in a later period and whether some of the slabs were joined to the older pieces (Frankfort 1954 167; Muscarella 1971 263; Mellink 1974 106). The categorisation and dating of the reliefs in Carchemish have also been subject to numerous suggestions (see Akurgal above and for example Hawkins 1972; Mallowan 1972; Mazzoni 1977). Almost all pieces from Carchemish have been dated to the first millennium, but a reevaluation of the slabs shows that some elements from the Late Bronze Age may have been used in later remodelling (Özyar 1998), thus disproving a thesis of Frankfort (1954 175) and Mallowan (1972) that all the sculpture of Carchemish should belong to the first millennium. Also for the monumental temple structure and a portal lion from 'Ain Dara one can find several divergent datings from the 11th to the 8th century BCE (Hrouda 1991 372; Orthmann 1993; Abū 'Assāf 1997).

Furthermore, a rather great discrepancy in datings appears in the case of numerous grave stelae found in and around Maraş, espe-

cially for the double portrait[3] in the Adana museum [Pl. XXIIa]. Many colleagues favor a date in the late eighth century (Orthmann 1975 431 Cat. Nr. 362; Bittel 1976 Fig. 317), E. Akurgal placing it even later at the beginning of the seventh century (1995 Fig. 150-151). H. Genge (1979 95-102) and more recently D. Bonatz (2000 19 Cat. Nr. C 29) prefers a considerably earlier chronological setting in the 9th century.

One of the most controversial issues in Luwian art has been the dating of the reliefs of Karatepe [Plate XV]. This site with the famous bilingual inscription has been excavated since 1946, but to date no definitive publications of its stratigraphy or of the sculptural work have appeared. In one the first preliminary reports the excavators claimed that the site was occupied in only one period of rather short duration and that the artistic differences in the workmanship of the reliefs were only due to two different masters (Çambel 1948 151). Today there is evidence for three different building periods in Karatepe, and it seems probable that at least some of the gateway sculptures were reused (Ussishkin 1969 126; Winter 1979; Hawkins 2000 44).

To sum up, the absolute chronology of Luwian buildings and monuments should be regarded as tentative only. In principle one can still use the stylistical division made by Orthmann (1971) into 'späthethitisch I-III', although some of the monuments have been redated since the publication of his research (see now Orthmann 2002). The datings proposed in this chapter follow mainly the guidelines established by J. D. Hawkins (2000). These are based on a rigorous analysis of both the historical facts and the development of the HLuwian script and give us a reliable general framework for the relative sequence of the monuments.

3. *'Luwian' centers in North Syria: continuity or discontinuity?*

After the disappearance of the Bronze Age political structures, HLuwian inscriptions are used by the ruling class not only in the central Anatolian area and in Cilicia but also in many centers in northern Syria, the city-state of Hama being the southernmost site. This phenomenon has often been explained with a theory that Hittite and/or Luwian population groups migrated from Anatolia during the

[3] Inv.Nr. 1755.

crisis years and established themselves especially in centers of previous Hittite domination (Macqueen 1995 1099; cf. also Bryce in this volume p. 126). Others are of the opinion that there is no evidence for such displacement either of Hittites or Luwians from north to south, but that the emergence of Luwian city-states in North Syria can best be explained in terms of 'cultural choice' (Bunnens 2000a 17). Indeed, a dynastic continuity of the viceroys of Carchemish from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age is attested through the discovery of a seal impression belonging to Kuzi-Teshub whose father was a contemporary of Suppiluliuma II, the last attested king of the Hittite Empire (Hawkins 1988). So Carchemish survived the collapse of Hattusa and developed its own distinctive Luwian culture. A model set up by Carchemish was perhaps adopted by other political entities as well. It is also plausible to think that other North Syrian centers like Aleppo (also the former residence of a Hittite viceroy) and 'Ain Dara (where the temple shows no gap in use) were ruled by descendants of the Late Bronze Age 'Hittites', who preserved and remodelled their cultural heritage into what we call here 'Luwian'.

4. *Architecture*

The Luwian kings and princes of the Iron Age usually ruled over a fortified town with a citadel and a lower city. In most of the cases the surrounding territory under their control seems not to have been very extensive. For some city-states we have information from the written sources about towns they conquered. For example Suhi II, king of Carchemish, claims that he destroyed the city Alatahana.[4] Sometimes the place of discovery of stelae with HLuwian inscriptions can give information about borders and dependencies of local rulers (for Carchemish see Hawkins 2000 75). The contemporary Neo-Assyrian historical inscriptions also describe siege, occupation and occasionally also destruction of Luwian towns that are not the capitals of the local ruler (overview in Hawkins 1995e). The only city-state which we know to have had wide areas under its dominion is thus Carchemish—Shalmaneser III mentioning in 848 BCE '97 cities of Carchemish' (Grayson 1996 76 A.0.102.16, 66'-68'). Very many place names occur in these Neo-Assyrian inscriptions but only a few

[4] KARKAMIŠ A1a, §9. See Hawkins 2000 88.

have been securely identified in modern topography (Parpola and Porter 2001).

The physical remains of the Luwian cities are not at all well preserved, and again the scarcity of significant archaeological data prevents us from any detailed description of architectural structures apart from orthostated walls. Up to the present not a single Luwian settlement has been explored on a large scale such that we would have information, for example, on whether there existed any common pattern of subdivisions into administration, religion, industry etc. in different parts. Nevertheless, S. Mazzoni has carefully analysed the existing material, suggesting that most of the Luwian cities were new foundations or refoundations and that gate structures with sculpture were part of the visual propaganda. According to her there was a general new urbanization where a common model of urban ideology and planning was adopted (1994; 1997).

We know some of the stone quarries used by the Luwian centers for their dressed stones and sculpture. Two of them, Yesemek and Sıkızlar, are situated in North Syria (Alkım 1974; Mazzoni 1986-87), while another was recently discovered in the vicinity of Kahramanmaraş (Carter 1996).

4.1 *Defensive walls and monumental gate structures*

'Ain Dara

It was a monumental portal lion apparently belonging to a gate structure of the city wall, but not discovered *in situ,* which brought initial attention to this site. The northern gate-house was excavated later but has remained largely unpublished (Seirafi 1960 89-90; Orthmann 1964 137). A contour map of the mound suggests, however, that there were four main entrances to the acropolis (Stone—Zimansky 1999 2 with n.1).

Carchemish

During the major excavation campaign in Carchemish in 1911-1914 the team surveyed the circuits of the badly preserved fortification walls. The foundations of the walls were often of rubble. All three parts of the city—the citadel mound, the inner town and the outer town were separately walled [Pl. IV]. Of the outer city wall (circa

2400m) only the West Gate was investigated (Woolley 1921 54 and Pl. 4). The Inner Town defence had three major entrances. From the eastern side it was accessible from the river Euphrates through the 'Water Gate'. Even if in a bad state of preservation, the layout of this gate could be restored as having been three-chambered. The portal lions and orthostats that once belonged to more than one building phase of the gate were scattered in the proximity, and many of them were very fragmented. The circuit of the Inner Town defences spans circa 1850m. The two other gates were named the West Gate and the South Gate. The remains of the West Gate were badly demolished, but two towers and the three-chamber structure of the gate-house could be restored (Woolley 1921 73-79). The South Gate had a doubly recessed gateway and flanking towers. Two wide gate-chambers were paved and decorated with unreliefed orthostats. Additionally, pieces of a statue and an inscribed base as well as a gate lion in front of the structure were discovered here (Woolley 1921 82-95). The ringed wall of the citadel had Bronze Age mudbrick work on stone foundations as well as later Early Iron Age structures (Woolley 1921 40; Hawkins 1976-80 436).

Hama

The city walls of Hama have not been traced so far, but in the south end of the citadel a gate-house leading to a courtyard was excavated and four gate-lions were found *in situ* (Fugmann 1958, Fig. 186).

Tell Ahmar

Because of the layer of the Assyrian occupation on the mound of Tell Ahmar/Masuwari, the extent of the pre-Assyrian city is not known. The defensive wall of the lower city seems to have formed an interesting half circle, but we are not able to tell in which Iron Age period it was erected and whether it possibly has several construction phases. The gate lions found in the early excavations of the site bear a cuneiform inscription of Shamshi-ilu, an Assyrian governor of the city, but stylistically they might also be dated to the 9th century (Bunnens 1990 132-133).

Karatepe

The fortress in Karatepe is fairly small (circa 195x375m), and even if it may have been the main residence of Azatiwada, it surely was not the capital city of the Cilicians [Pl. V]. There are rectangular towers or bastions at fairly regular intervals on the inner circuit wall. Two ramps lead first to an outer courtyard and then to the Southwest and Northeast gate structures respectively. The gate-houses were flanked by defensive towers, and they are similar in structure. Both are T-shaped in plan, i.e. consisting only of one rectangular chamber, and they were decorated with portal lions, sphinxes and reliefed orthostats, the northeastern entrance being the better preserved (Sicker-Akman 1999 533-540). Nearly all the slabs in Northeast gate were discovered *in situ,* but the surviving orthostat slabs from the Southwest Gate were found scattered in the surroundings, and their reconstruction is only hypothetical. The fortress was encircled also by outer city walls which have been explored only recently (Sicker-Akman 1999 533-539).

Domuztepe

The even smaller citadel hill of Domuztepe, just opposite Karatepe on the other side of the river Ceyhan, is archaeologically less well explored than Karatepe. The line of the defensive wall has not been traced. However, we know that at least one entrance led to the fortress from the southwest, where a badly preserved gate-house with portal lions was observed. Also the fragmentary orthostat reliefs found scattered on the hilltop and on its slopes show that the walls were decorated with these slabs (Alkım 1952 246-247). Even if the chronological relationship of Karatepe to Domuztepe is not entirely clear, the latter seems to be the earlier of the two, and it is also possible that the orthostat reliefs from Karatepe belonging to group A have been transferred to Karatepe where they were reused (see below p. 316).

Göllüdağ

A fortified hill site belonging to a later period, perhaps to the beginning of the 7th century, is Göllüdağ in central Anatolia [Pl. VI]. The defensive walls are built around a crater lake, and it lies at 2000 meters in the Melendiz mountain range north of Niğde. The fortifica-

tion wall is impressive with its 5km circuit. There seem to have been only two major gate structures leading to the site and some minor entrances. Two possible forts are situated inside the Southwest and Northern gates. Towers have not been located so far (Schirmer 1993b 125).

Additionally, we know of several sites in the area of Tabal in central Anatolia where Early Iron Age fortresses did exist. They are all insufficiently explored or documented, and a detailed study of Luwian defence architecture in general would be extremely welcome in the scholarly world, especially since some wall structures have been badly damaged in modern times. We can mention here for example such sites as Porsuk in the vicinity of the Cilician Gates (Pelon 1991), Karaburun near Haçıbektaş (Bossert 1957) and Topaklı north of the Kızılırmak River (Polacco 1978). In the Anti-Taurus mountains the fortress of Havuz, where a gate lion was found in the 1920's, is only occasionally visited by colleagues (Boehmer 1967). One of the most interesting structures is however the almost circular defensive wall in Kızıldağ which is currently being surveyed by a Turkish team (Karauğuz–Bahar–Kunt 2002).

4.2 *Palaces and other public buidings*

Thus far the word for 'palace' is unknown to us in the HLuwian inscriptions. In the scientific literature a prominent form of residence in the North Syrian urban centers is called *bît ḫilani*. This type of building consists of a façade with a columned portico of two or three columns, approached by a flight of steps. Behind the portico there are two rectangular rooms which apparently served as audience rooms. There also existed an upper floor, accessible by a stair on one side of the portico.[5] The origins of this designation go back to the Neo-Assyrian building inscriptions mentioning *bît ḫilani*-structures erected in Nimrud and in Khorsabad. The *bît ḫilani*'s in Assyria could be best compared with columned-entrance buildings in North Syria, and since the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions mention this being a western style of house, the North Syrian counterparts were named after the Assyrian designation. The roots of the concept as well as the ety-

[5] Wooden upper floors where women had their quarters are described also in HLuwian building inscriptions. See for example KARKAMIŠ A11a, §18-19 in Hawkins 2000 94-100.

mology of the word have been a matter of dispute in the modern scholarly discussion. For the building concept Syrian derivation has been suggested (Frankfort 1952) as well as Hittite (Alp 1983 332; Margueron 1995 83; Margueron—Sigrist 1997 237), whereas I. Singer has shown that the Assyrian '*ḫilani*' probably is a Luwian word /Hi:lana-/* written with the logogram PORTA and meaning 'gate'. It is thus possible that the Assyrians adopted the Luwian word and changed its meaning to cover every kind of monumental and columned entrance (Singer 1975).

Malatya

During the exacavations by L. Delaporte only the entrance area and a paved courtyard of the building were exposed. The general layout of this monumental palace-like structure in Malatya is not known (Pecorella 1975 67; Frangipane 1997).

Carchemish

In the Inner Town of Carchemish structures of a large-scale building were excavated (Woolley and Barnett 1954 176-184; Fig. 38). This was identified as a *bît ḫilani*-type residence, but too little of the structures is preserved to confirm this interpretation (see Hawkins 1976-80 436, but also Fritz 1983 45).

Tell Tayinat

In Tell Tayinat the American excavation team recovered a courtyard flanked by four public buildings. The *bît ḫilani* (Building I) has an entrance on the north side of the building. The open portico is decorated with three columns, and on its western side stairs ascended to an upper storey (Haines 1971 40-57, pls. 96-104).

Hama

Level E on the citadel of Hama revealed public buildings, but only the remains of Building II were totally exposed. The entrances of Buildings II and III were decorated with lion sculpture. Building II seems to have been a palace with a buttressed façade. The entrance led to a large columned room which gave access to rows of storage rooms containing jars and other small finds (Riis—Buhl 1990 24-25).

Göllüdağ

A public building of unclear function is the vast structure (260x110m) in Göllüdağ [Pl. VIIa]. Its portal is of the *bît ḫilani* type, decorated on both sides with double lions and columns. On the inner doorway were sphinx statues carved on both sides. The portal leads into a portico which opens to a large courtyard built of large worked stones of orthostat type. Behind these audience rooms the complex had a large enclosure filled with regular rectangular units of eight rooms each forming a grid system of alleys. A generally suggested date in the late 8th century and attribution to king Warpalawa of Tuwana (Schirmer 1993b 123) seems to be supported by no evidence. A slightly later date in the beginning of the 7th century would still be possible based on the stylistic analysis of the gate lions (see below).

Karatepe

In Karatepe a building measuring circa 55x45m was situated on the summit of the hill. It was constructed directly on the bedrock. The ground plan of this palace-like structure seems to have been partially preserved. Apparently a central courtyard was surrounded with small rooms, and four bases of basalt were found connecting one room with the courtyard. The excavators assumed that this was a *bît ḫilani*-type of palace, but since we have very little published documentation about it, even this question remains open (Alkım 1950 543-544; Sicker-Akman 1999 540).

4.3 *Sacral Buildings*

In contrast to the numerous temples from the Hittite imperial period found in Boğazköy we know very little about Luwian sacral buildings. The meagre state of our knowledge is certainly due to the hazards of excavations and to the nature of Luwian cults: many deities seem to have been worshipped in open sanctuaries, near springs and on mountain peaks (see Hutter in this volume p. 256). In the HLuwian script the word temple is given as 'DEUS.DOMUS' ('god-house').

'Ain Dara and Aleppo

Chronologically the temples in 'Ain Dara and in Aleppo are the earliest known examples belonging to the Iron Age, and both are likely be a continuation from the Late Bronze Age. The excavations of the

temple of the Storm-god of Aleppo are still proceeding, and we do not have much more than the outer wall with the fascinating relief orthostats (see below p. 312f). Both structures are representatives of the *templum in antis* concept in which columns are placed in between a porch or a portico. This kind of plan seems not to be derived from the Hittite Empire models but from Syrian ones, represented already in Middle Bronze Age counterparts in Ebla. In Aleppo a cult niche is situated in the front side, and the dimensions of the building were once colossal (Kohlmeyer 2000 23).

The temple of 'Ain Dara is oriented to the southeast, and its most remarkable features are a high platform and a great number of sculpted orthostats. According to its excavator it underwent three different building periods (1300-1000, 1000-900 and 900-740). The façade is decorated with reliefs of lions and sphinxes arranged in two levels. The entrance is a portico with two columns which was once flanked by sphinxes and lions. The *anticella* is an oblong room furnished with large basalt orthostats depicting mountain deities. Three steps join the *anticella* to the *cella*. Here series of slabs similar to those in the *anticella* depicting mountain deities with geniuses were found. A corridor surrounding the actual temple was constructed in the final phase, and it too was decorated with reliefed orthostats. An overall feature of this construction is carved guilloche patterns running along the lower side of the walls. We do not know which god was worshipped in this temple. One possibility is Ishtar-Shaushka proposed by Abū 'Assāf (1997 35).

Carchemish

In Carchemish the temple of Kubaba, the chief deity of the city attested from the HLuwian inscriptions,[6] has not been located so far. An identification with the much disturbed architectural remains on the citadel mound is according to J. D. Hawkins not supported by any real evidence (Hawkins 1976-80 436). The only temple which was exposed in detail belonged to the Storm-god. It was situated on a platform connected to the Great Staircase in the southwest, and the orthostats from the 'Long Wall of Sculpture' formed the southeast wall of the sanctuary. This sanctuary had a cobbled courtyard where

[6] For example in KARKAMIŠ A31, §3, work of Kamani, mid-8th century. See Hawkins 2000 140-143.

an altar with a HLuwian inscription was found. The shrine itself consisted of only one room with a recessed entrance. A dressed stone podium stood opposite to the doorway with remains of a double-bull base (Hawkins 1976-80 437).

Tell Tayinat

One of the few structures which undoubtedly can be identified as a temple or shrine is the small megaron-type building (II) in Tell Tayinat. It is situated behind the southern palace. The plan much resembles that of the temple in 'Ain Dara: an entrance *in antis* with two columns on bases decorated with pairs of lions. The nave is rectangular, leading to a cella with podium (McEwan 1937 13; Haines 1971 53-57; pl. 81). This shrine had at least two building phases of which the later one—on the testimony of the broken and dispersed fragments of HLuwian inscriptions—seems already to belong to the period of the Assyrian occupation of the site. It is thus possible that the double lion base of basalt is not part of the original decoration of the building but is to be dated to the Assyrian era (Hawkins 2000 364-365).

Hama

The so-called Building III in Hama is identified as a temple by the excavators. It underwent at least two building phases, and the eastern part of it disappeared during Hellenistic or medieval contruction work. Three portal lions were found *in situ* flanking the entrances (Riis—Buhl 1990 20-22).

Karatepe

There is a small building situated on the eastern side of the North-eastern gate, and a sacral character of the structure has been suggested (but see Orthmann 1976-80 413: 'sog. Tempel').

Tabal

On the central Anatolian plateau there are no buildings of the Iron Age which can with certainty be identified as temples. This is mostly due to the insufficient archaeological research, since the possibilities of finding sacral structures have been few if not nonexistent. Also the great hopes expressed by K. Bittel (1981 70-71) of finding one or

even several sanctuaries at Göllüdağ have not been fulfilled, even if the religious character of this site is quite possible.

5. *Figured Works of Art*

5.1 *Portal figures*

5.1.1 Lions

The most obvious feature of Imperial Hittite art which was taken over by the Luwians were the portal figures, especially the lions. They guarded the gates of city walls as well as the entrances of palaces, always in pairs. Forming the corner blocks of the entrances, the heads of the figures as well as the front part of their bodies were usually sculptured in the round, while the rest of the rump and the hindlegs in striding position were executed in relief. There is a general tendency for their proportions to change from a heavy and stocky appearance to more slender forms, and the later examples were also influenced in many details by Assyrian models.

The earliest fully preserved representatives of Luwian portal lions are probably those from 'Ain Dara and Malatya. Additionally, fragmentary examples are found in Hama and Carchemish which should be regarded as roughly contemporaneous. The colossal piece from 'Ain Dara (height 2.80m) has a square head and an open, roaring mouth with protruding tongue and impressive molars (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 1a). The lion's mane is a thick ruff encircling the face. It also covers the neck and breast with hook-formed stylized hair. The edge of the mane curls up in a spiral just above the forelegs. A broad band outlines the forelegs and falls vertically on each side just behind the forepaws. The forelegs are very short, the paws having four toes. The hindlegs are only schematically rendered, and the tail is slung between the hindlegs.

The lions from Malatya are much smaller in proportions (height 1.19m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 39a-c). The heads are more roundish than the examples from 'Ain Dara, but the wrinkled nose, the hanging tongue and the molars bear similarities. The mane is rendered in elaborate and stylized round spirals. Interesting is that these lions are not entirely identical: one of them has its tail slung between the legs whereas in the other it is placed behind the legs.

Several gate lions were exposed during the Danish excavations in Hama, but in the secondary literature they have seldom been taken into consideration. A pair of small basalt lions (height 0.88/0.92m) were situated at the entrance to Building I and stylistically seem to belong to the early period (Riis—Buhl 1990 39-42; Fig. 11-12). Their disproportionately long bodies were greatly damaged by the high temperature of a fire so that no details are preserved. The heads do not have many details: the eyes were inlaid, the nose is rendered only with incised vertical lines. No teeth are present, and the outstretched tongue is small. An even smaller lion (height 0.64 m), couchant and without a counterpart was found in the Hellenistic layer (Riis—Buhl 1990 46-47; Fig. 27). This also looks archaic. In addition from Hama we have evidence for two colossal lions (reconstructed height 2.20m) which were perhaps placed in front of Building II (Riis—Buhl 1990 50-54; Fig. 40-41). These were sculpted totally in the round with big impressive paws and stylized mane.

Fragmented portal lions found in Domuztepe have robust bodies (height 1.00-1.10m), short legs, very flat sides, outlined shoulders indicated separately, and heart-shaped ears, and they once had inlaid eyes (Alkım 1952 Fig. 40; 41).

From central Anatolia there are two examples which both seem to belong to the time before 800 BCE. There is a badly weathered pair of lions from the Elbistan valley which also bear an illegible HLuwian inscription (Hawkins 2000 329). North of Elbistan, on the fringes of the Anti-Taurus, there is a single find from Havuz (height 1.64m) whose dating is difficult to determine because its body and legs are rendered almost without details, but the head is more carefully executed (von der Osten 1929 Fig. 78-79).

The small basalt lion of Maraş (height 0.62m) with the HLuwian inscription covering its body, belongs to the reign of Halparuntiya III, king of Gurgum and can thus be dated to ca. 800 (Hawkins 1982 401; Hawkins 2000 261-265). The inscription begins with a badly damaged portait figure of the author standing on a small lion, the entire image being placed in a recessed panel on the shoulder of the lion statue. The style of this piece shows already some evident Assyrianizing elements like the relatively slim body, the stylization of the mane and the flattened ears. The fact that the inscription runs across its body and legs gives it a curious appearance. Other inscribed portal lions in other sites are known as well, but they are all

preserved in fragments only. The earliest are presumably those from Carchemish belonging to the 11th and 10th century (Hawkins 2000 83-84; pls.2-5). Two fragments from Kululu are also identified as being part of a lion's body (Özgüç 1973 25, Pl. 10,1; 30, Pl. 21,2). Slightly bigger and later seems to be an uninscribed lion from Maraş (height 0.85m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 44b).

Reference was already made to an unfinished gate lion found during the Kahramanmaraş survey and apparently lying *in situ* in a stone quarry (Carter 1996 292-293; Fig. 4; Pl. 1-2). Because the piece seems to have been abandoned at an early stage of its execution, a stylistical analysis is impossible.

The Tabal area has so far yielded only a few portal lions. These are all definitely late, but they become interesting if their developed and refined style is dated into the 7th century. A typical chance find from the fields in Kululu is a lion head of light limestone [Pl. VIIb] (Özgüç 1973 22-23). It probably belonged to a quite substantial figure (height 0.60m), the right side of the face being better preserved while the back of the head, the right ear and a large part of the mane are broken off. The eyes were once similarly inlaid as in the examples from Karatepe (see below p. 310). The open mouth with the outstretched tongue continues the Luwian tradition, whereas the round palmettes and the wrinkled nose reveal Assyrian influence. The mane is rendered with interlocking flame-shaped triangles. T. Özgüç (1973 22) dated the lion to the last quarter of the 8th century, but a slightly later date in the beginning of the 7th century might also be possible.

In the Tabalian area the most elaborate and presumably also the latest examples for portal lions in the entire sequence of monuments are those found in the mountain-site Göllüdağ. Often illustrated in the different handbooks are the double lions (height 1.47m) now in the Kayseri Museum first documented by R. O. Arık [Pl. VIIIa] (1936 Fig. 3; 5-6). This pair gives the general block-like impression of the earlier Luwian lions, but all the iconographic details are Assyrianized. The counterpart for this double lion is only attested in fragments (Tezcan 1968 fig. 15). A smaller, single gate lion was also found in the earlier excavations at the site (Tezcan 1968 218; Fig. 15), but it was only recently transported to the Niğde museum [Pl. VIIIb]. Not much of the face is preserved except the eyes, and the forepaws are also broken off. The shoulders penetrate deeply into the mane, which

is rendered in big flame-shaped locks. The tail, which is slung between the hindlegs, ends up with a pinecone-shape common among the Assyrian lions from the time of Assurbanipal (Orthmann 1975 Fig. 245). A stone slab from Göllüdağ representing a lion's body without the head and in an obvious unfinished state might be the counterpart for this lion (Tezcan 1968 218; Fig. 16). The lions of Göllüdağ are usually dated to the end of the 8th century (Bittel 1976 Fig. 323; Akurgal 1995 Fig. 123). However, such a date would indicate that there existed a highly developed center of art in the area of Tabal so that such superior monuments were erected. The other possibility is that Göllüdağ with its whole unfinished construction belongs to the very latest phase of the dynasty of Tuwana, planned and executed perhaps by Muwaharani (see below p. 320) or his successor. A date between 700 and 650 seems thus not unreasonable.

The two lions (height 1.23m) from Karatepe cannot really be compared with their counterparts in other Luwian sites (Çambel 1999 Pl. 18-23). They have more fluid lines in their bodies, and they are maneless with disproportionaly high legs. Their impressive inlaid eyes are partly preserved, giving us a faint idea about the effect they created for the spectators. It is also interesting to note that they seem totally to ignore any knowledge of the Neo-Assyrian models. As in the case of the sphinxes from Karatepe (see below p. 311) a Phoenician influence has been suggested (Winter 1979 123).

5.1.2 Sphinxes

Portal sphinxes usually have a winged lion's body and a distinctively female face.

A torso from Maraş (height unknown), already published by H. H. von der Osten has seldom been noticed (1930 Fig. 84; Orthmann 1971 Pl. 47a-b). Perhaps made of light coloured stone, the head and part of the body and wings are visible. The face is totally weathered, but side-locks falling from the temples to the breast are still recognizable. W. Orthmann suggested that this piece might have belonged to a column base (Orthmann 1971 527), but until it has been adequately republished this question must remain open.

There is a remarkable limestone head of a monumental sphinx (height 0.72m) found in Kululu which probably belonged to a large gate figure [Pl. IXa] (Özgüç 1971 100 Pl. 41,1). The round sockets for the eyes were once inlaid with another material. Under the plump

cheeks the faint smile of the closed lips lends the figure a special charm. The hair is divided in the middle to hang down behind the ears to end in a large spiral at the height of the throat. A limestone torso of a sphinx body (height 0.90m) was also found in Kululu [Pl. IXb] (Özgüç 1971 107; Pl. 42,1).

A pair of small portal sphinxes (height 0.68m), now in the Niğde museum, belonged in Göllüdağ to the same building complex as the double lions (Tezcan 1968 219; Fig. 11; 19). They appear to be only roughed out and left unfinished since no details are executed. Interesting features are however the upraised wings and the long, erect and curving tail.

Most intriguing are the basalt sphinxes (height 1.25m) in Karatepe (Çambel 1999 Pl .87-88). These figures with a very broad nose, a tightly closed mouth, huge ears and especially an Egyptian apron-like garment have been regarded as overwhelmingly Phoenician in character (Winter 1979 122-123).

5.2 *Orthostat reliefs*

The term for orthostats used in HLuwian is (SCALPRUM)/kutassra/i:-/ (Starke 1990 429; Hawkins 2000 98). Presently we only have attestations from the inscriptions from Carchemish, but they show how important this kind of embellishing of public buildings was for the rulers.

The use of these orthostats is certainly a continuation of imperial Hittite traditions, even if changes and alterations did occur. Generally, public buildings such as temples and palaces, as well as gate entrances, were decorated, subjects being both religious and profane. One of the characteristics in setting these orthostats is that for example in Carchemish they have an alternating arrangement of light limestone and dark basalt slabs.

'Ain Dara

'Ain Dara was part of the kingdom of Unqi but not its capital city Kunalua (Hawkins 1982 384; Hawkins 2000 362). Here long HLuwian inscriptions are lacking, but small fragments attest the use of the writing system (Abū 'Assāf 1996 107-109; Hawkins 2000 385-386). The excavator of 'Ain Dara is of the opinion that the temple underwent three different building phases (1300-1000; 1000-

900 and 900-740) and that different orthostats in different parts of the temple were executed in different periods (Abū 'Assāf 1990 39-41). However, W. Orthmann has convincingly argued that all the sculptured works are to be dated into a period from 1200 to 1000 (1993).

The façade of the temple and the terrace were decorated with reliefs of lions and sphinxes arranged in two levels (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 1b-e and 2a-b). These suffered badly in a great conflagration which destroyed the building perhaps in the latter half of the 8th century. The *anticella* was furnished with better preserved orthostats. Each slab represents three figures. In the middle the mountain god is depicted in frontal position holding his arms upright. His dress is decorated with rounded humps—the symbols of a mountain—and with jagged thorns on both sides of the robe. In some of the slabs the mountain god is flanked by two bullmen, also in frontal position. On other slabs, the mountain god is flanked by griffins or lion-demons. Their faces are in profile, and the griffins often have two pairs of wings.

Aleppo

Stylistically very similar to the reliefs of 'Ain Dara are the pieces found in the recent excavations of the citadel of Aleppo (Kohlmeyer 2000). It has become clear thus far that the textually attested temple of the Storm-god of Aleppo stood on the citadel of the city, and its outer wall was embellished with reliefs depicting various deities and mythological creatures. Whether the single basalt block of two geniuses flanking a sunburst within a moon crescent, known already since the 1930's, belongs to the same complex is not certain (van Loon 1995). It should, however, be regarded as belonging chronologically and artistically to the same tradition. So far twelve slabs with reliefed figures have been published in a preliminary report, but more orthostats have already been found (Kohlmeyer 2000). Iconographically the Storm-god of Aleppo driving a bull-chariot figures prominently. Other deities, a tutelary deity, and Shaushka are accompanied by HLuwian signs. Winged geniuses holding a bucket and pinecone as well as mythological creatures like a scorpion man and winged lion-man also occur. The style of these slabs is quite homogeneous and distinctive. The figures have clear outlines, and incised details such as patterns in the outfits, beard, and hair are carefully rendered. At this stage of her research the excavator of this remarkable find dates

the slabs to the 10th century (Kohlmeyer 2000 36), but whatever the dating of the monuments of 'Ain Dara are, the reliefs from Aleppo should be regarded as roughly contemporary.

Malatya

The stone blocks which were used together with the portal lions in the gate-structure of the palace in Malatya were not revetment slabs but structural blocks, and unlike the reliefed orthostats in 'Ain Dara or Aleppo, many of these form consecutive religious scenes. Back-to-back to the gate lions the inner corner blocks have small lions. On the right corner block there is a god standing on a stag and the king PUGNUS-*mili*[7] pouring a libation in front of the god. Behind the king a beardless figure leads a goat. On the left side of the gate structure a divine procession is shown. The king PUGNUS-*mili* libates in front of the Storm-god, Shaushka and Runza, while the last goddess has so far remained unidentified. Other slabs have more or less the same compositions with different gods. One scene depicts the Storm-god driving a chariot drawn by his bulls [Pl. X], and on another a queen Tuwati pours a libation in front of a winged goddess, perhaps Shaushka. Some iconographic and stylistic features reveal the closeness of the Hittite imperial models for these scenes. All deities except one wear a long pointed hat with several pairs of horns. The goddesses have the long pleated gown which leaves a leg bare from the knee. Both features are well known from the rock reliefs in Yazılıkaya (Bittel 1976 Fig. 235; 253). The only slab from Malatya with a mythological scene shows the Storm-god slaying a monstrous seven-headed serpent (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 40e).

Two blocks with hunting scenes and one with feasting were not found in organized excavations, and their connection with the other reliefs remains unclear. Under a HLuwian inscription a horse-drawn chariot with the driver and archer chases a lion which has been hit in its back by an arrow. The wounded lion stands on two legs only with its head twisted back towards its hunter. A dog runs between the legs of the horses. The scene on the other block is similar except that the hunted animal is a stag. For a long time the unnatural posture of the

[7] This name has often been read as Sulumeli in analogy to the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions mentioning king Sulumal of Melid. However, definite proof for this reading is lacking: see Hawkins 2000 307.

lion and a figure lying or running between the horses in particular were thought to have been adopted from Assyrian models and so these were chronologically separated from those depicting libation (for example Akurgal 1995 Fig. 112). The style of the HLuwian inscriptions, however, even if the genealogical relationships of the authors with other rulers of Melid could not be established, shows that these are roughly contemporary with the other blocks, i.e. they probably belong to the 11th-10th centuries (Hawkins 2000 319; 321).

Carchemish

Among Luwian centers the most extensive series of architectural sculpture, especially reliefed orthostats, comes from Carchemish. Chronologically the earliest are those recovered partially *in situ* and in the surroundings of the so-called 'Water Gate' (Woolley 1921 103-117; Pl. B28-31). The inscribed gate-lions which probably belonged to this structure (see above p. 300) have been assigned to such kings as Suhi I and Astuwadamanza, giving an approximate date in the 11th and 10th centuries for the construction of the gate (see also Mazzoni 2000 36-37). Many of the slabs are badly damaged, but they depict for example a libation to the Storm-god who is mounted on a bull-chariot, a winged lion with long outstretched tongue, and a bull-man. The composition and style of these orthostats leave an archaic but not very homogeneous impression. It is thus possible, as A. Özyar has suggested, that this gate contains a mixture of material and that many of the orthostat reliefs should be dated earlier, at least to the end of the second millennium (1998 634-635).

The 'Herald's Wall' belonged to a large building whose interior was not excavated, and it had an exquisite alternating arrangement of light limestone and dark basalt orthostats (Woolley 1921 Pl. B10-B16). The subjects did not form parts of any unified composition but had separate themes like groups of crossed fighting animals, figures or animals flanking a sacred tree, hybrid creatures such as an animal with a human and a lion's head, a pair of bullmen holding spears together with a lion-headed genius [Pl. XI], and a hero mastering animals.

The longest sequence of orthostats was erected on the so-called 'Long Wall of Sculpture', but these were not found *in situ* and created problems of dating and interpretation for a long time. This orthostated wall constituted an exterior façade of the temple of the Storm-

god (see above p. 305). A reconstruction of the original placement of the scattered and fragmented material was made by J. D. Hawkins (1972 106-108; Fig. 4a). It shows a victory procession of chariots and infantry headed by a divine procession, both oriented towards a monumental staircase leading to the citadel. Because this series of reliefs also included a limestone slab with a HLuwian inscription, the whole sequence can be dated to the reign of Suhi II, probably second half of the 10th century (Hawkins 2000 87-91). One of the fragmentary orthostats represents a nude winged goddess wearing a horned helmet, holding her breasts, and a female figure facing right sitting on a chair with footstool (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 24b). The HLuwian caption for the figure tells us that she is Wati, wife of Suhi II. It is possible that the portrait is posthumous because her figure is presented as larger than other humans and in the company of the gods (Hawkins 1980a 215; Hawkins 2000 91-92).

On one occasion the portrait figure of the ruler introducing a HLuwian inscription occupied the entire height of the stone slab. The most famous example is the figure representing the king Katuwa of Carchemish which was found in reuse as a door step in the Processional Entry [Pl. XII] (Hawkins 2000 115-116). Katuwa faces to the right and wears the typical long robe decorated only with the fringed hemline. The hair is bunched on the neck and is articulated with very carefully executed 'pot-hook' curls. The beard is square cut with no moustache.

The 'Royal Buttress' with its exceptional reliefs depicting a 'royal family' is executed not by a king but by a regent and a guardian of the crown prince Kamani. He stands in front of Yariri and bears the staff of office in his right hand while Yariri holds his left hand [Pl. XIII] (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 31). The hairstyle of Yariri is exquisite, showing a great similarity to contemporary Neo-Assyrian reliefs (for example Orthmann 1975, Fig. 216), and what is even more interesting is that he is depicted beardless, making a strong suggestion that Yariri was a eunuch. Over a long gown with vertical pleats he wears a sort of long shawl whose triangular tasseled end hangs forward over his right shoulder. It almost totally covers his sword. In his left hand he carries a sceptre upside down. Kamani himself wears a similar gown to Yariri but without the shawl. His elaborate belt is tasseled and in front a long sword is attached to it.

The latest style of sculpture from Carchemish comes from the so-called 'Gatehouse on the Great Staircase'. The composition and order of the slabs are plausibly reconstructed by J. D. Hawkins (1972 fig. 4b; see also Orthmann 1971 Pl. 21d-e and 22a-d). On both sides of the gate a ruler-figure is followed by a four-winged griffin-demon (?) holding a bucket and a cone for purification highly dependent upon Assyrian models (see for example Orthmann 1975 Fig. 200). These slabs have an inscribed background, the HLuwian script looking curiously archaic. Two further orthostats depict female deities or geniuses with horned headdress and flounced garment, and both figures hold curious-looking objects in their hands. All details speak of careful imitation of the Neo-Assyrian models, and together with a suggested restoration of the HLuwian inscription these pieces can be dated to the king Pisiri whose reign is attested in the Assyrian sources for at least 738-717 BC (Hawkins 2000 157-159).

Tabal

From the central Anatolian plateau, since proper large-scale research is lacking, we know very little about the orthostat reliefs. B. Hrozny found during his early excavations in Kültepe two fragments which do not allow any stylistical comparision (Hrozny 1927 5, Pl.II,1; Özgüç 1971 80-81). Later a more complete slab representing a tutelary deity (height 0.90m) was found by villagers and brought to the Kayseri museum [Pl. XIV] (Özgüç 1971 82; Pl. 11-12). Facing right the bearded figure wears a short, bordered tunic with a broad belt. In his left hand he holds a rabbit and an eagle, in his right hand a long spear. The horned cap has a rather distinctive pommel like many of the representations of the Storm-god.

Karatepe

The orthostats from Karatepe fall into two significantly separate styles designated as style A and style B. H. Çambel is of the opinion that all the orthostats from the Northeastern and Southwestern Gates were executed simultaneously and that the stylistical differences are the result of two different school of workmen (1948). The HLuwian inscriptions, which were partly incised on the same reliefed orthostats, show however a disorder in placement suggesting that the slabs were repositioned. It is thus more probable that the slabs of style A

are earlier than those belonging to style B and were executed in the early 9th century (see above p. 297). The refitting of the slabs into the gate-houses along with the new slabs of style B happened some time around 700. Orthostats belonging to style A were placed along both sides of the Northeastern Gate. All the figures have distinctive profiles with prominent nose and thick lips, receding forehead and chin. This style bears certain similarities to the early style of Sam'al (Zincirli). Characteristic for the figures of style B are a certain flatness of the figures with fairly large heads, and most of the details seem quite unfinished. Iconographically the subjects appearing on the orthostats in Karatepe encompass a great variety, and as pointed out above, since they seem to be rearranged more than once in antiquity, their placement in the gate-houses does not follow any apparent logic. In the Northeastern gate there is the Egyptian god Bes and the child-nursing mother [Pl. XV], but also different types of hunters, a winged genius holding a sundisc, and next to the portal sphinx a *kriophoros*. On the opposite side there are again hunting scenes, but also a single male figure holding his spear and staff of office. A banquet scene with a ruler figure seated on a chair with panel decoration should also be mentioned.

5.3 *Stelae*

There seems to have been at least one term for 'stela' used in the HLuwian inscriptions. The word /wani(d)-/, usually written with the logogram STELE, seems to have designated both the cult and funerary stelae (attestations in Hawkins 2000 180; see also Starke 1990 187-188). Only on very few occasions have stelae been found *in situ*, but it is clear that some of them were erected in the gates leading to a citadel, in the temples and shrines and perhaps on graves. Cult stelae were obviously placed also in open nature, as suggested by the discovery of stelae and rectangular cuttings in living rock as sockets in Melendiz Dağları between Niğde and Göllüdağ (Çinaroğlu 1989).

5.3.1 Storm-god Tarhunza

Stelae often represent deities, and the Luwian Storm-god Tarhunza is the most popular subject. Its concept remains unchanged in pose throughout our period. The stelae of the Luwian Storm-god Tarhunza can be divided roughly in three different groups. The first and most

common group is that where Tarhunza is facing and walking right [Pl. XVIa]. He is wearing a short kilt with a belt which leaves the knee and the legs bare. In the belt a sword is attached at the waist in such a way that the handle is shown in front of and the point in back of the figure. In his right upraised hand he holds an axe or a hammer, in his left the trident thunderbolt, the symbol of the Storm-god (Hawkins 1992b). He wears a horned helmet, sometimes with a pommel, and his hair ends with a curled 'pigtail'. The Storm-god is also wearing boots with upturned toes. In some cases the figure of god is surmounted by a winged sun-disc.

From the chronological point of view, one of the earliest datable pieces belonging to this 'simple type' of Storm-god comes from Tell Ahmar (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 53, c; Hawkins 2000 Pl. 92). It was erected by Hamiyata, king of Masuwari and its style is clearly identical to the 'Suhi-Katuwa style' in Carchemish, thus end of 10th or early 9th century. Quite similar in detail is the example found in Babylon with the exception that the beard is not rendered in such regular curls and the horned helmet is disproportionately large (Hawkins 2000 Pl. 209).

In the second group Tarhunza stands on his symbolic animal the bull [Pl. XVIb]. A recent find comes from Gölpınar north of Şanlıurfa (Kulakoğlu 1999 167-168; Pl. 1). Together with the examples from Tell Ahmar[8] (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 53, d; Hawkins 2000 Pl. 99), the stela of Cekke (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 5, d; Hawkins 2000 Pl. 42) and the fragmented piece from Adıyaman (Hawkins 2000 Pl. 169) show how the principal concept remains the same but how the Assyrian stylistic influences penetrate the representation. Small variations in details do occur. On the stela from Cekke the Storm-god holds an uncertain conical object in his right hand. In the piece of Adıyaman one can still recognize the lower back part of the god and the back half of the bull. The change from the short tunic into the long ankle-high fringed robe shows the adoption of the Assyrian mode of representing deities. The knee-curls and the tail of the bull are also taken from Assyrian models. The iconographic concept of a god standing on a bull continued almost unchanged until late antiquity. The transformation of Tarhunza into Zeus Dolichenus took place in Doliche

[8] A very well preserved stela from Tell Ahmar (TELL AHMAR 6), found only recently in the river Euphrates, is still unpublished.

(mod. Dülük) in the vicinity of Gaziantep and became a very popular religious movement especially among Roman soldiers (Haas 1994a 492).

In the Tabalian area of central Anatolia the cult of Tarhunza had special traits which are also reflected in the art of this region. In the third group the stelae depicting the Storm-god Tarhunza the deity is either represented with a bunch of grapes and a stalk of grain growing from his feet or they are otherwise included in the picture. The best example of this is naturally the famous rock relief of Ivriz (see below p. 336), but some other stelae found in this region show the same features. One example made of light andesite comes from Keşlik, the rough mountain area (Melendiz Dağları) between Niğde and Göllüdağ [Pl. XVIIa]. The HLuwian inscription is much worn and illegible and the figure of Tarhunza is also weathered. Fundamentally old and new elements are mixed together: the short kilt with the wavy hemline and the boots with upturned toes are of Hittite-Luwian tradition whereas the hair and beard styles are Assyrian elements. The place of its discovery, however, is interesting, because the stela was apparently erected in the mountain area, while the socket for it was cut in the native rock on the top of the hill (Çinaroğlu 1989 2).

A stela with a bilingual (HLuwian-Phoenician) inscription preserving only the lower part of a Tarhunza-figure was found in the course of construction work on a canal near the Ivriz great rock relief [Pl. XVIIb] (Dinçol 1994 117-124; Figs. 3-6). It shows the hemline of the kilt with volute endings, stocky legs and similar ankleboots as on the stele from Niğde. Still visible also are the base of the vine-stock and the stems of barley which spring from the feet of the Storm-god. The inscriptions still remain unpublished, but it has been reported that the author is Warpalawa, the king of Tuwana depicted in the rock relief, thus datable to the second half of the 8th century (Hawkins 2000 526).

The broken basalt stele from Aksaray shows only the lower part of a Storm-god, but its boots are rendered with exquisite embroideries revealing the high quality of the workmanship [Pl. XVIIIa] (Kalaç 1978; Hawkins 2000 Pl. 264).

A better preserved representation of a Tabalian Tarhunza was found in 1975 reused in the threshold of a mosque in Niğde [Pl. XVIIIb-XIX] (Kalaç 1979). It is of black basalt and slightly dam-

aged on the left and right sides. Here the Storm-god faces right under a beautifully executed winged sundisc. He wears a simple short and fringed tunic, but the belt is elaborate with a hanging attachment in front. The horned helmet has a small pommel, and the ankleboots are finely embroidered. The face with hair and beard is finely incised, and the spiralled curls look very much like the Assyrian models. Again the vine with grapes and tall stems of barley are included. From the short HLuwian inscription placed on the right side we know that the stela was dedicated by Muwaharani, son of Warpalawa. Since the latest datable Neo-Assyrian attestation for Warpalawa dates from 709 BCE (ND 2759; see Parpola 1987 4-7), this monument is datable to the very end of the 8th or to the beginning of the 7th century.

The iconography of Tarhunza in Tabal is further supplemented by HLuwian inscriptions. The stele from Sultanhan refers to a 'Tarhunza of the Vineyard' who, when offering was made to the deity, 'came with all goodness, and the corn-stem(s) burgeoned forth at (his) foot, and the vine was good here' (Hawkins 2000 467).

5.3.2 Kubaba and other goddesses

Some stelae depict Kubaba or other goddesses. The traditional iconographic features of Kubaba are all shown on a small stela from Birecik (height 1.10m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 5c). Facing left the deity is dressed in a simple long belted robe. The *polos* is decorated with two horns, and the hair is rendered falling in a bunch on the nape of the neck. The attributes of the goddess—the mirror and the pomegranate—are clearly shown. The figure is surmounted by a winged sundisc. Despite the obvious stylistic closeness to the representations of Kubaba on the orthostats in Carchemish dating to the end of 10th century this stela is often dated to the 8th century (Vieyra 1955 Fig. 59; Furlani 1961 52).

One of the most famous representations of the mother goddess Kubaba is a stela from Carchemish (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 34e). Unfortunately the head of this life-size figure (height 1.67m) is missing, but it depicts the standing goddess in relief, rendered frontally. The goddess wears a long pleated gown, necklace and pectoral. The arms are bent at the elbows and held tightly at waist, the left hand holding probably a mirror. This stele was erected to commemorate the building of a temple for Kubaba in Carchemish by the ruler Kamani, and it can thus be dated to mid-8th century (Hawkins 2000 140-142).

A curious stela of an uncertain dating but probably belonging to 8th or 7th century was found early 1980's from Tavşan Tepesı in Melendiz Dağları [Pl. XXa] (Çinaroğlu 1989 3-4). The monument is broken into two pieces. A goddess is seated in profile on a throne and holds a staff in her right hand. The head, shoulders and the left hand are damaged. The figure wears a long pleated gown and shoes with upturned toes. The high-backed throne is decorated with a protective genius, its arms raised as if supporting the weight of the goddess. This and a rectangular footstool are supported by a couchant animal, perhaps a lion. Additionally, in the upper right corner there is a small figure facing right whose head is broken off. The execution of this stela shows no great workmanship, which makes the identification of the goddess and the dating quite difficult. If the animal supporting the goddess is a lion, then this might represent Kubaba. Another possibility is the goddess Hebat with her symbolic animal the panther. An 8th-century dating has been suggested by Çinaroğlu (1989 7), but some details could also support a later date in the 7th century. For example, the thrones with supporting geniuses are attested only from the reign of the Neo-Assyrian king Sennacherib (704-681).

5.3.3 Kubaba with Karhuha

A limestone stela found in Malatya (height 1.30m) depicts the goddess Kubaba together with the god Karhuha (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 42f). Their identification is assured through the HLuwian inscription placed on the sides of the block (Hawkins 2000 328-329). Karhuha stands in striding position, facing right and wearing a short belted tunic, a helmet with three pairs of horns, and perhaps a pair of boots which are badly weathered. A curved sword hangs from the belt, and in his right upraised hand Karhuha holds a spear. In his left hand he holds a strange three-pronged object. Kubaba on the other hand is depicted in the usual pose—seated, veiled and with a mirror in the right hand. The pair is surmounted by a winged sundisc above which the HLuwian sign DEUS is faintly identifiable. The interesting feature in the composition is the fact that the deities are depicted on each other's symbolic animals—Karhuha is standing on a lion and Kubaba's chair is placed on back of a stag. The HLuwian inscription does not offer any dating criteria, but stylistically this stela probably belongs to the end of 10th century.

5.3.4 Tutelary and other deities

So far two stelae depicting the tutelary deity are known to us. A broken example from Haçıbebekli between Sam'al and Maraş shows the figure facing right (height 1.19m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 14a). It wears a shortsleeved, belted and ankle-length robe with a broad band of fringes on the hemline. A sword is attached at the waist, and the right hand holds a bow over the shoulder. An animal, probably a hare, is hanging down by its legs in the outstretched left hand. The headdress is a horned helmet, a round tuft of hair resting on the nape of the neck. The beard is long, round and simple without any incision of details. A winged sundisc is placed just above the head. It seems also that the deity was standing on an animal, part of a rump being still visible, but most of it is broken off. Again the HLuwian inscription on the back side of the stela is illegible and thus cannot offer any secure dating (Hawkins 2000 277-278). The style and workmanship point to a date in the early 9th century.

The fragmentary stela from Gölpınar near Şanlıurfa does not bear any signs of script (Kulakoğlu 1999 168-170; Pl.2). The head of the deity is broken off, and only part of the beard is preserved. This time the bow is held in the outstreched left hand while the right hand seems to grasp the hare. The figure is standing on a stag with large beautiful antlers. This piece does not show any great quality in the execution, and it does not show any Neo-Assyrian elements, making a pre-9th century dating possible.

This seems to be almost the whole range of deities depicted on cult stelae. One of the later finds from Domuztepe, however, is a stela of a deity facing right (height 0.80m) (Çambel 1999 Pl. 124-125). Whereas the other attributes point to identifying the figure with the Storm-god, the figure is holding not the trident thunderbolt in his hand, but the hieroglyphic sign representing 'I am' (Hawkins 2000 71).

5.3.5 Rulers

The function of stelae depicting rulers as commemorative or funerary monuments has recently been proposed by D. Bonatz (2000). This explanation seems probable, even if it does leave some questions open—for example, the obvious difference in use against the Neo-Assyrian counterparts which were always erected by the king himself in his lifetime. The earliest securely datable is a stela from Maraş

(height 1.10m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 45h) representing the ruler Larama of Gurgum who probably reigned in the first half of the 10th century (Hawkins 2000 252-255). Unusually facing left, the figure wears a long fringed gown without the tasseled belt or a sword hanging from the belt. In his right hand he carries the staff of office. No hat or cap is rendered, but the hair is falling in a rounded bunch on the nape, and the beard is fairly long and spade-shaped. The feet are only partly preserved, showing shoes with upturned toes. The HLuwian inscription runs across the figure of the ruler, avoiding the head and hands. The relief is very low, and the incised parts of the figure are not well executed, which lends the figure a hazy appearance.

The stela of Warpalawa, king of Tuwana, was already known from the late 19th century, and in bearing a HLuwian inscription of this king it can be dated to the second half of the 8th century (Hawkins 2000 518-521) [Pl. XXb]. This is an obelisk-shaped stela broken into two pieces (preserved height 2.08m). The king is facing left holding his hand (the arm being broken away) in the same gesture of prayer as in the famous rock sculpture from Ivriz (see below p. 336). His gown, shawl, footwear and a cap bear an extremely rich embroidery with geometric patterns. The beard and the hair, which falls in a bun on the nape of the neck, are rendered in Assyrian-style spiral curls. Even if the figure is executed in a low relief only, leaving a rather flat impression, the carefully incised details show a high quality of workmanship without any parallels in Luwian or neighbouring centers. Among numerous fragments from Kululu which either are parts of orthostat reliefs or stelae, there is one with small concentric squares (Özgüç 1971 199; Fig. 159). These apparently represented a similarly decorated gown as in the Bor relief.

Two fragmentary stelae with ruler figures are known from the area of Tabal. On a round piece of basalt, reused in a church floor in Andaval, only the head of the figure is preserved [Pl. XXIa] (Hawkins Pl. 291). It is executed in a recessed panel, surrounded by a HLuwian inscription. This ruler Saruwani is depicted beardless with a large almond-shaped eye, distinctively stylized ear and a very strong nose. The hair is rendered in pot-hook curls and in one large bunch falling to nape of the neck. There has been some discussion about the date of this piece. The style, especially the rendering of the curls, shows old features comparable with the 10th century reliefs from Carchemish

(Ussishkin 1967b) while the palaeography of the script would suggest a later date in the 8th century (Hawkins 2000 514-516).

From Çiftlik comes a semicylindrical stele with a figure clearly depicting a ruler, but the face and lower part of the figure are broken [Pl. XXIb] (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 5e). The ruler, whose name is not preserved in the HLuwian inscription, is facing right and pointing with his left hand to himself in the gesture representing the first word of the inscription 'I (am)'. The robe is short-sleeved, and in his right hand he carries the staff of office. What is left of the figure hardly allows any detailed stylistic analysis, but the overall concept allows a comparison with the orthostat reliefs in Carchemish, especially with the portrait of Katuwa (see above p. 315). The author represents himself as a servant of Tuwati, an 8th century ruler of Tabal, and the piece is thus dated to the second half of that century (Hawkins 2000 448). An earlier date in the second half of the 9th century is also possible if we consider that the inscription could also refer to Tuatti, king of Tabal mentioned by Shalmaneser III in the Nimrud-statue (Grayson 1996 79-80; A.0.102.16, 23).

5.3.6 Rulers and deities together

The dating and interpretation of the stelae from Işpekçür and Darende in the area of Malatya have remained difficult. Probably they are both works of Arnuwanti who titles himself a 'country-lord of the city Malizi', i.e. Malatya (Hawkins 2000 286-287; 302). The stela from Işpekçür (height ca. 2.50m), now in the Sivas museum, has three reliefed sides and has been reconstructed from four fragments (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 487). It shows the author of the HLuwian inscription on the right, holding a backward-pointing lituus in his left hand and standing on a bull, pouring a libation in front of his homonymous grandfather who stands on a symbolic mountain. This seems to be a representation of an ancestor cult. With his left hand grandfather Arnuwanti points to himself, in his right hand he holds a backward-pointing lituus. On the left side there is an additional veiled female figure facing right, standing on a city wall—perhaps representing the wife of the deified Arnuwanti. In her left hand she holds a small drinking cup close to her lips. All three figures are not well preserved. All wear long garments, and the fringes are rendered with simple horizontal or oblique lines. Details are not executed very skillfully. The concept of the figures on the Darende stele (height 0.79m) is

quite similar (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 6a). An enthroned goddess Hebat and a figure of the god Sharruma standing on a lion receive a libation from the ruler Arnuwanti, also standing on a lion. While the details of Hebat are mostly worn away, the other figures show a peculiar hairstyle and strong profiles. The dating of these two monuments has always created problems, and W. Orthmann left the stela of Işpekçür without periodization (Orthmann 1971 487), while K. Bittel dated it to the 8th century (1976 Fig. 326). For Darende he suggested a vague 'Sph II/III', being generally of the opinion that both stelae should be late rather than early (Orthmann 1971 117). A higher dating to the end of the 10th century was proposed by H. Genge (1979 178). A plausible redating to the early 11th century has been made by J. D. Hawkins based on the genealogical studies of the kings of Malatya (Hawkins 2000 302; 305).

5.3.7 Other funerary or grave stelae

Maraş especially has been the source of a series of small stelae with banquet and other scenes. These were probably grave stelae, but because none of them were found *in situ*, we can only speculate about this, although the connection with the cult of the dead seems certain (Kohlmeyer 1995 2655; Bonatz 2000 32-46).[9] They represent an interesting group in Near Eastern art because most of them are monuments not commissioned by the rulers but by other people. A few of them bear short inscriptions in HLuwian, but these include no information about the professions or social status of the persons. Very many of these stelae are fragmentary or otherwise badly preserved (see a full catalogue in Bonatz 2000 17-22) and represent a low standard of workmanship even if some are executed more skillfully. Usually two people sit at a meal, a cross-legged folding-table set between them. They can hold cups in their hands or other objects: female participants often have a mirror and/or a spindle, men a bunch of grapes and/or an ear of corn. Also two women can sit together as on the basalt stele (height 1.23m) found already at the end of the 19th century in Maraş (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 45a; Bonatz 2000 C33). Both women are veiled and wearing a high *polos*, like many of the repre-

[9] Some pieces, with or without relief decoration, especially those which are crowned by stepped pinnacles, have been thought to be altars rather than funerary monuments—see for example Garbini 1959. The content of the inscriptions of this kind of monument, however, makes the function clear: see Hawkins (2000 178-179).

sentations of the mother goddess Kubaba. The HLuwian inscription identifies the other figure to be a representation of Tarhuntiwasati, wife of Azini (Hawkins 2000 273). Sometimes a child is depicted with its mother. One of the most famous examples is the stela of unknown provenance in the Louvre Museum (height 0.80m) which shows a seated woman holding a boy on her knee (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 48,d). The woman wears a fringed veil and an undecorated short-sleeved gown while the collar of the boy's garment is richly embroidered and his shoes are also decorated. Remarkable in detail are his jewelery—bracelets at both wrist and upper right arm, a necklace and even earrings. In his right hand he holds a rather long stick which must be a stylus, because in front of him a rectangular object has been interpreted as a writing-board. In his left outstreched hand he holds a perched bird. A HLuwian inscription gives only the name of the boy: Tarhupiya. J. D. Hawkins has suggested that the inscription might have been added later (Hawkins 2000 274-275). It is thus possible that this kind of stela was first produced *en bloc* and then later inscribed according to the wishes of a purchaser. Even if the provenance of this piece is not known it bears great stylistical similarities to those found in Maraş. Characteristic are for example big almond-shaped eyes and round cheeks.

Also from Maraş is a unique basalt stela (height 0.42m) with a paired man and woman [Pl. XXIIa] (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 44,d). Opinions on the date of this stela range from early 9th century (Bonatz 2000 19) to the beginning of the 7th century (Akurgal 1998 242). The heads of the figures are executed almost totally in the round. Disproportionately large hands rest on each other's shoulders. The male figure holds a bunch of grapes in his right hand, and the female figure holds perhaps a mirror in her left hand. The woman wears a flat embroidered cap with rosettes. Both have a very sincere and impressive face with closed lips and the eyebrows constituting a continuous curve from the tip of the nose to the temple.

A more recent find was made in Maraş where a rectangular basalt stela (height 0.77m) was found during construction work (Schachner and Schachner 1996). The upper part is decorated with three-stepped crenellations. In the middle a female veiled figure is sitting on a small bed, frontally rendered and holding a spindle in her left hand. Her gown is decorated with unusual richness. The other three sides are reliefed with veiled women approaching the middle scene.

5.4 *Statuary*

There are several attestations for the word *taru(t)*- in the HLuwian inscriptions written with two logograms "STATUA" and "LIGNUM" (Hawkins 2000 91; 238; 268—see also Starke 1990 114-115.). This word seems to have been used for cult statues as well as for the ruler statues, but there is at least one occasion where it points to an image on a reliefed orthostat.[10] Free-standing Luwian sculpture is not significant in number, but nevertheless we have both interesting and important pieces, especially if we are concerned about the style and function of these objects.

5.4.1 Cult-statues of deities

Analogous to almost all cultural spheres in the ancient Near East, statues of gods were certainly made and placed in shrines and temples. From the Hittite sources we know that cult statues were often made of precious metals and stones, and it is quite conceivable that this tradition might have continued in the Luwian religious sphere as well (Haas 1994a 490-506). Archaeological remains of free-standing cult statues are, however, quite scanty, especially when we make a distinction between statues of deities and deified rulers. Apart from the statue of the Storm-god found in numerous fragments but reconstructed in Karatepe, which bears a Phoenician inscription (and is thus not treated here—see Çambel 1999 frontispiece), there is actually only the intriguing new find in Adana (see above p. 288). A limestone statue of the Storm-god (height 1.90m) had been erected on a basalt socle in the form of a chariot which is pulled by a pair of bulls. The statue itself is almost intact, whereas the chariot and the bulls have suffered substantial damage. This statue has a HLuwian-Phoenician bilingual on its base, and the author of the inscriptions is king Warika, who probably is identical with the 8th-century king Urikki of Que attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources (see Bryce here p. 104 but also Hawkins 2000 41-42). The photographs of the statue published so far do not allow an analysis of the details, but it is clear that the hair resting on the nape of the neck and the beard are rendered in Assyrian style. The eyes were inlaid with another material.

Other finds are fragmentary. From Carchemish we know at least one head which might have belonged to a statue representing a deity

[10] KARKAMIŠ A7b, §6; see Hawkins 2000 129.

(Bossert 1942 Fig. 827). From Kululu we have a very damaged head of andesite (height 0.27m) (Özgüç 1971 106; Pl. 40 1a-b). Its face and back of the head are broken off, but parts of the forehead, the horns and the hair are preserved. Additionally this head has a wide band and a rosette attached to it.

5.4.2 *Ruler statues*

Rulers are often represented with a long garment and belt from which a tassel hangs in front. In their right hand they hold a staff, and a sword hangs from the belt on the left side. In some cases the base of the statue has been preserved, a griffin-demon holding two lions. According to the recent research on the statues and on the inscriptions of funerary character, it is now suggested that these figures were made as memorials for the deceased and deified rulers (Bonatz 2000). This is a convincing explanation for many of the monuments, even if some problems exist, especially if one takes into consideration that the contemporary Neo-Assyrian ruler-statues probably were erected by the kings themselves. One of the remaining questions is whether *all* the ruler statues were meant to be funerary monuments or there could also have been another functions.

Carchemish

One of the earliest documented ruler statues must be the seated figure from Carchemish, bearing a HLuwian inscription (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 32c). This monument was found *in situ* but broken in multiple fragments. It was re-erected by the excavation team in Carchemish, but today only the base is exhibited in Ankara museum (Akurgal 1995 Pl. 108). The statue rests on a lion base and wears a long gown, a beard and a horned crown. In his right hand he holds some sort of mace or double hammer. The whole figure with its extremely short neck and stocky form gives a very supernatural impression. Whereas the god named Atri-Suha[11] remained enigmatic for a long time and was usually suggested to be some sort of war-god (Orthmann 1971 243; Bonatz 2000 195, n. 157), J. D. Hawkins has made a plausible proposition that it represents the deified king Suhi and that the statue was erected by his son or grandson Katuwa. (Hawkins 2000 101).

[11] Previously also read as Aratluha or Atarluka, see Orthmann 1964 221; P. Taracha 1987 267, n. 31.

The erection of this statue is also attested in a HLuwian inscription found at the south end of the 'Processional Entry'[12] where the statue itself was situated. Two other seated statues were also found in Carchemish. A headless basalt figure (height 0.80m) was found on the wall of the so-called *bît ḫilani*-building and bears an erased cuneiform inscription (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 36e). Another, also headless, but of limestone was discovered in a rubbish pit (Bonatz 2000 B7). It does not follow the traditional concept of seated figure—the gown of the figure, for example, is not ankle-length, leaving the feet bare. For comparison, in Tell Tayinat several large fragments of a colossal statue seated on a throne were discovered near the East Gate. The statue also bears a HLuwian inscription, and even if nothing of the figure itself is preserved, the small pieces show a high quality of workmanship (Hawkins 2000 365-367; Pl. 189-192).

Additionally two monuments of standing rulers are known from Carchemish. An earlier one probably belonging to the Suhi-Katuwa period at the end of the 10th century is the head of a big basalt statue (height 0.42m) [Pl. XXIIb] (Bonatz 2000 A7). The base of this statue was apparently still in situ when discovered, but the body was dispersed in numerous small fragments around it. With its nose broken off, it shows the same stylistic features as the portrait of the king Katuwa on the orthostat slab (see above p. 314). The regular pothook-curls of hair and beard frame the expressionless face with big eyes and closed lips. An almost identical figure but of lower quality has been found in Sam'al (Zincirli) (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 62c-d). To the 8th century, probably of the ruler Kamani, belongs a very fragmented piece with only parts of head and shoulders preserved (height 0.85m), excavated together with other small fragments of the figure and with its base bearing a HLuwian inscription (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 34b; Hawkins 2000 167-169).

Maraş

From Maraş several statues are attested, but only one monument is not more or less fragmented. A torso of a square-shaped basalt figure (height 0.98m) of Halparuntiya II, king of Gurgum and son of Muwattalli, is only preserved from the waist to the knees, showing in front traces of the tassel and a sword hanging from the belt on the left

[12] KARKAMIŠ A11a 5, §20; see Hawkins 2000 96.

hip (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 44c). This ruler holds a staff in his right hand, and the HLuwian inscription beginning with an /amu/-figure runs on the sides and back of the statue. Halparuntiya and his father Muwattalli have been identified with rulers attested in the annals of Shalmaneser III, giving a dating of the statue in the middle of the 9th century (Hawkins 2000 255-258). A similar piece of a monument but much smaller in size (height 0.44m) has only recently been published (Hawkins 2000 265-267; Pl. 114-115). The body of the figure is preserved from the waist to the fringed hemline of a long robe showing the tassel hanging from the belt and a sword-scabbard on the left side. In this case the HLuwian inscription runs also over the front side of the statue, and it gives us the important information that it does not represent a king but a person called Astiwasu who titles himself as "Chief Eunuch". Unfortunately not preserved is the name of the king whose servant Astiwasu was, but the style of the script dates it approximately to 800 BCE or slightly later (Hawkins 2000 265-266). The same concept is also represented by a headless life-size basalt statue (height 1.34m), even if the surface is much worn and details very unclear (Bonatz 2000 A 3). The hands are held together at the waist, and they hold a faintly recognizable staff. A sword in a scabbard with tassel hangs at the left hip. Traces of a HLuwian inscription are still visible but do not give any information about the author or date of the monument (Hawkins 2000 276-277). Furthermore a headless small basalt figure of crude workmanship is catalogued by D. Bonatz (2000 A11 Pl III). From Maraş we also know of one basalt head (height 0.33m) with a simple cap, a large stylized ear, triangular nose, small mouth and corkscrew-curled beard (Orthmann 1971 Pl 48b-c).

Malatya

Malatya has been the source of three more or less fragmentary male figures. A limestone torso and a head which seem to belong together were found in a field in the vicinity of the mound (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 42d; Bonatz 2000 A4). The nose and the mouth of the head are badly damaged, the eyes are very big with double outline, and exceptionally large spiral curls form the hair and the beard. The body of the statues is preserved form neck to pelvis. The right hand still holds the knob of the staff, and the left hand is not depicted on the waist but seems unusually to rest along the body. Stylistically related

but evidently of better quality is another head (height 0.42m) found by the Italian team (Orthmann 1971 Pl. 42g). The almond-shaped eyes have the double outline, and the hooked curls of hair bear great resemblance to the statue head found in Carchemish (see above p. 329). A dating is difficult, but both could be from the end of the 10th century or earlier. Sculptured in the round on a monumental scale is the famous statue which was found buried in a shaft in front of the Lion Gate (Delaporte 1940, Pl. XIV). While the basic concept is the same as in the earlier Luwian ruler statues, this piece is executed in Assyrianizing style. Dressed in a long pleated gown and sandals, the figure also wears a diadem with rosettes. Since there is no inscription attached to the monument, we do not know which Luwian king it represents. Mutallu, a king of Kummuh who ruled over Malatya between 712 and 708, has been proposed.

Tabal

Some of the free-standing Luwian sculpture are over life-size, and a few of them can also be labelled as colossal. The headless statue found in Kululu falls into this category [Pl. XXIII] (Özgüç 1971 102-105). This torso (height ca. 3m) bears a tasseled mantle with zigzag folds and a sleeved chiton with seams running along the outer contour of the arm. It was put together by collecting the fragments from various houses of the village and from the mosque of the neighbouring site. This kind of drapery also appears on a piece found earlier in the Malatyan territory in Palanga (Hawkins 2000 Pl. 161-162), and together with the statue from Kululu they are suggested to be potential forerunners of early Greek mantled figures (Ridgway 1977 35; Işık 1986/87 95-99 but contra: Boardman 2000 80) The statue fragment from Palanga is smaller in size than its counterpart from Kululu, and it is only preserved from the waist to the bottom of the gown. It has a cylindrical, almost columnar form, a HLuwian inscription running over the robe. This type of representation of the gown, unusual for the area and period in question, created discussion of its dating. Scholars of HLuwian dated it to the 8th century, whereas E. Akurgal ignored the epigraphical evidence, claiming a Greek influence on the Palanga piece and dating it to the 6th century (1949 33). A date in the late 8th century or early 7th is however most probable.

A parallel to the Kululu statue is probably a torso in the Sivas Museum. It was found in Sivas itself (further to the northeast than

Tabalian territory probably extended) and published already in the 1930's by H.H. von der Osten (1929 Fig. 62), but it was not until recent times that its chronological setting in the Iron Age has been recognized (Bossert 2000 45; Fig.5). An accurate republication for this piece is a *desideratum*.

Kululu has also been the source of some smaller fragments belonging to the same category. A bearded head of dark basalt was first thought to belong to a deity, but in analogy to other statues it probably represented a deified ruler [Pl. XXIVa]. Only the face with a broken nose without the forehead and some ringlets from the beard are visible (Özgüç 1971 105-106). Beyond this, only part of a head of a large statue, once found intact in a garden in Kululu village but later mutilated in pieces for construction work, could be purchased for the Kayseri Museum (Erdem 1971 113-114; Pl. 1a; Özgüç 1971 107; Pl. 40,4). The back of the head with the right ear, the band of the diadem and upper parts of corkscrew-curls are visible in the photographs.

A very fragmented piece of a limestone head from Ivriz (height 0.70m) was found in a secondary deposit [Pl. XXIVb] (Dinçol 1994 125-127). Only the left half of the face with an almond-shaped eye and a long bow-shaped eyebrow, the neck and the back of the head are preserved. The very skillful execution of the locks of the beard, however, is extraordinary in Luwian territory, and they are executed exactly the same way as the counterparts in the Neo-Assyrian reliefs, for example those in the portait of Sargon II from Khorsabad (Orthmann 1975 Fig. 221). This piece attests the high level of workmanship in the Tabal area in the late 8th and perhaps still early 7th century.

5.4.3 Statuettes

There is evidence of two statuettes from the Luwian cultural realm, but this kind of small figure was also known in Aramaean speaking areas, especially in Tell Halaf (for example Bonatz 2000 B3 and B8). The uninscribed ones have mostly been interpreted by D. Bonatz (2000) as funerary monuments, but the example from Maraş, headless but bearing an HLuwian inscription around it, shows that at least this piece represented the Storm-god (Hawkins 2000 267-269; Pl. 116-117). The other statuette comes from Kirçoğlu in the Amuq plain (height 0.38m) and has a HLuwian inscription running along the lower part of the gown (Orthmann 1971 Pl 38c). Unfortunately

the head is also broken off in this piece, but the garment is interesting with pleats at the back, and in front a flap of a jacket-like robe is still visible falling over a belt. This statuette represented 'the Divine Queen of the Land' (Hawkins 2000 383-385).

5.4.4 Statue bases

As indicated above, free-standing sculptures were usually set on separate bases or podiums, but only in few cases do we have both the base and the statue itself. There is evidence for bases decorated with a pair of lions, as in the case of the ruler statues in Carchemish (see above p. 328).

A double bull podium of basalt also comes from Carchemish (height 1.20m) (Orthmann 1971 Pl 25e). It was found *in situ* in front of the entrance to the temple of the Storm-god, and thus it is probable that a cult statue of this deity was once placed on it. The bulls have round muzzles, a round forelock on the forehead, small flattened ears and sockets for the inlaid eyes. More stylized muscles of the body are shown by a bull podium from Domuztepe which was already found in the early surveys of the site (Alkım 1950 Fig. 16-17). It is now published with better photographs (Çambel 1999 94 Pl. 122-123) showing that only the head of the right bull is preserved with a large incised eye. A HLuwian inscription runs over the bodies of the bulls, but the condition is according to J.D. Hawkins 'desperate' and gives thus no help in dating the monument (2000 71). W. Orthmann has suggested early 9th century (Orthmann 1971 112). One additional piece comes from Adena northeast of Şanlıurfa, and it is stylistically very close to the double bulls from Carchemish (Kulakoğlu 1999 Pl. 4).

5.5 *Rock reliefs*

One can consider the monuments carved on living rock to be typically Luwian, because geographically they occur only in the Anatolian and not in the Syrian area of the 'Neo-Hittite cultural sphere'. That these reliefs are mostly found in Tabalian area might also be due to the geographical fact that in central Anatolia there simply are more suitable rock surfaces available than in North Syria.

Kızıldağ

The image of a ruler in Kızıldağ is one of the best examples of the difficulty of linking inscriptional evidence with style analysis, and its dating has been controversial ever since its discovery [Pl. XXV]. A natural formation of trachyte in a shape of a throne bears an incised figure and a HLuwian inscription executed in relief. The seated Great King Hartapu, identified through the inscription in front of his face, wears a long short-sleeved robe with a fringed hemline. In his right hand Hartapu holds a shallow-ribbed bowl and in his left a long staff. The hair fashion with the little curls falling not over the shoulderline are derived from Assyrian models. The shape of the headdress is curious even if remotely comparable with the one worn by Barrekub, ruler of Sam'al (see Orthmann 1975 Fig. 358). The beard, which is shaved off around the lips, is divided into three sections with simple short strokes. The high-backed throne has its best parallels in Karatepe (Symington 1996 137-138). The overall concept is strongly reminiscent of the Neo-Assyrian representations of kings seated on thrones (see Orthmann 1975 Fig. 199), and as suggested by K. Bittel (1976 238; also 1986 105-106) hardly allows an earlier date than the 9th century. There are thus not many ways of reconciling a dating to the 9th to 8th centuries with a 12th century dating for the inscriptions of Hartapu (see Bryce above p. 95). Taking the sacral character of the place into consideration and the obviously current cult of ancestry among the Luwian rulers, it has been suggested that the relief is a later addition to the inscriptions (Hawkins 1992a).

Karasu

Outside the central Anatolian plateau a rock relief with the figure of the tutelary god Runza was discovered in Karasu, near Birecik (Burney and Lawson 1958 218; pl. 34b). On a stag's back stands a male figure facing left in walking position. The figure is armed with sword and bow. The absence of horns on the headdress and the presence of the winged sun-disk has also led to a suggestion that a combination of divine and royal attributes and symbols show not a god but a king in the manner of a god (Hellenkamper and Wagner 1977). W. Orthmann (1971 51) suggests a date 'Sph. II' for this relief.

Karapınar

An incised simple rock relief (height 0.62m) was found 1989 in Karapınar, north of Kayseri (Özgüç 1993 493-496) [Pl. XXVIa]. Destroyed shortly after its discovery, it seems to have had a ruler figure and three HLuwian signs. Facing to the right, the badly eroded figure represents the introductory /amu/-figure ('I am...') pointing his hand towards himself. He wears the typical long short-sleeved robe with a broad belt and fringed lower edge, and he does not have a headdress, but the hair is arranged in a simple knot on the neck. In his right hand he holds the staff of office, and behind the figure a sword with curved hilt hangs from the belt. The undecorated shoes have slightly upturned toes. In view of the rather unskilled hand that carved the figure and its weathered state, a precise dating is not possible, but 9th or 8th century are the most probable options.

Gökbez

The Storm-god Tarhunza is represented on a small relief (2x2m) found in Gökbez, a village 40 km southeast from Niğde [Pl. XXVIb]. The deity is facing left in a striding pose with the thunderbolt in his left hand and an axe in the right hand. He wears the usual short belted tunic and a helmet. From his left foot a wine stock grows bearing its fruit in front of Tarhunza. Behind the Storm-god there is an additional umbrella-shaped figure (Faydalı 1974). The execution of the relief is crude, lacking any renderings of details. It is possible that the relief was left in unfinished state, making any precise dating difficult. Again, if contemporary with similar representations, then an approximate date is 8th century.

Ivriz

The most famous rock relief in Anatolia is without doubt the representation of the Storm-god Tarhunza and Warpalawa, situated on a cliff above a spring at Ivriz in the Taurus range [Pl. XXVII]. The king Warpalawa of Tuwana (Tyana), known also from the contemporary Neo-Assyrian sources, stands before the Storm-god (height 4.20m), holding his hands in an adoration gesture. Tarhunza wears the short-sleeved belted tunic with the undulating volute-formed hemline and a pointed helmet with two rows of horns attached to it. On his muscular feet he wears boots with upturned toes which are

decorated in same manner as in the fragmented stele from Aksaray (see above p. 319). The round knob of the sword in the form of an eagle's head is fastened to the broad belt (Barnett 1983 but see also Şahin 1999 suggesting a sickle instead of sword). Unlike representations of male gods in the Luwian realm, this Tarhunza wears bracelets and perhaps earrings. The association of the god with vegetation is again stressed by the vine and the ears of corn which grow from his feet and which are held by him in his hands. Other details like the face, beard and the hair arranged in ringlets all reveal the Assyrian influence in Tabalian art of the 8th century. The robe of the ruler Warpalawa is heavily embroidered with a swastika border, and the cloak is fastened at the shoulder with a knobbed fibula, the details being all carefully chiselled and showing the same high quality as the stele from Bor (see above p. 323). Warpalawa also wears a decorated headdress with a tuft on front. This kind of clothing is not attested anywhere else, but it is probably indigenous Tabalian and not of Phrygian origin as has often been thought (Muscarella 1988 187 n. 6)

Less famous is a smaller relief scene in Ivriz depicting a sacrifice, discovered in 1972 about 100m south of the façade with the Storm-god and Warpalawa [Pl. XXVIII]. At the head of the procession is a figure dressed in a long robe, preserved from the waist only, followed by another guiding a sacrificial animal. This representation has not received much literary discussion, perhaps because of its crude execution and bad state of preservation. L. Bier also reflected on the possibility that the relief was never finished. On the right side of the relief there are rock-cut steps leading to a ledge with a rectangular cutting. L. Bier interpreted this to be a libation basin, but M. J. Mellink suggested that it could have been a socket for a cult figure (1979 252-254).

Ambarderesı

A composition exceedingly similar to Ivriz but without a HLuwian inscription is found in Ambarderesı, in a valley about half an hour's walk from the more famous monument [Pl. XXIX]. At about 4.50m it is only two-thirds of the height of the Ivriz relief. One can also see that it is a sort of copy, which did not reach the quality of workmanship of the original. R. Barnett (1983 60) even suggested that it might be unfinished, but this seems improbable. It is dated like its counterpart in Ivriz, i.e. to the second half of the 8th century.

Malpınar

Mention should be also made of the large but worn figure of a ruler in Malpınar, some 35km away from Samsat, which represents the introductory /amu/-sign ('I am...') of a six-line HLuwian inscription (Kalaç and Hawkins 1989). The figure itself seems to be bearded and has long hair bunched at the nape of the neck. It wears a long garment with Assyrian-style fringes and a fez-shaped hat. The object in his hand is probably a mace. According to the inscription, the figure represents a ruler of Kummuh/Commagene called Atayaza, and he has been dated to the middle of the 8th century (Kalaç and Hawkins 1989 112; Hawkins 2000 341 pl. 167).

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INDICES

Names are with few exceptions presented in a conventional transcription in which cuneiform *š* and *ḫ* are given without diacritics and in normal alphabetical order. Where necessary, the palatal sibilant of Akkadian and Hurrian is rendered as sh. In a very few instances names have been left in italic transliteration to avoid infelicitous sequences. Hittite and Cuneiform Luwian words are usually given in the standard 'bound transcription' in italics. Since these languages do not distinguish voicing in stops, *b, d,* and *g* are as usual alphabetized as *p, t,* and *k* respectively. Double consonants are ignored in alphabetization. Hieroglyphic Luwian words for the most part appear in a phonological interpretation marked by slant bars (/ /). Only where the issue at hand is the spelling are words from cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts given in a 'narrow' sign-by-sign transliteration in italics. In the language indices Luwian comes first, followed by the other Anatolian Indo-European languages, then all other languages in alphabetical order.

PERSONS

Adda 235
Aegeus 108
Akhenaten (= Amenhotep IV) 45, 75
Alaksandu 7, 12, 35, 36, 47, 48, 49, 69, 70, 71, 76, 221, 266, 267
Alantalli 82
Alexander 12
Alexander Paris 70
Alexander Polyhistor 108
Alexander the Great 106, 118, 120, 122
Alexandros 266
Alli 237
Ambaris 98, 99, 105
Amenhotep III 44, 56, 62, 213
Amenhotep IV 45
Ammuna 89
Ammurapi 83
Anitta 216
Anna 231, 250, 255
Anniwiyani 228, 237, 238, 255, 259, 269
Anteia 111
Antigonos 120
Antiochos III 120
Antoninus Liberalis 108, 114
Anuwanza 253
Anzapahhaddu 57, 62
Appuashu 106
Armati 228, 237, 238, 259
Arnuwanda (I) 50-53, 56, 138, 216, 253
Arnuwanda II 58
Arnuwanti 324
Arrian 118
Artaxerxes II 118
Artumpara 118
Ashella 174, 235, 255, 258
Asmunikkal 216, 253
Assurbanipal 100, 105, 310
Assurnasipal 98
Assur-sharru-usur 105
Astiwasu 330
Astuwadamanza 314
Atayaza 337
Attarssiya 51
Awariku 103, 104, 148, 201
Azatiwada 103, 104, 148, 263, 276, 301
Azini 326

Bappi 232, 246
Bar-Rakib 284, 334
Bellerophon 108, 111
Bentesina 140
Cicero 123
Claudius 120

Cyclopes 86

Dandanku 235, 236, 259
Diodoros 112, 118

É.GAL.PAP 65
Eheya 89
Ephoros 112
Erbbina 120
Esarhaddon 100, 105

Gassu 70
Glaukos 110, 111, 115

Halparuntiya II 329, 330
Halparuntiya III 149, 308
Hamiyata 148, 318
Hannutti 6, 57, 58
Hantili (II) 89, 253
Hantitassu 252
Harpagos 14, 117
Hartapu vi, 93, 95, 96, 97, 147, 159, 221, 264, 270, 291, 334
Hattusili I 32, 40, 46-49, 51, 89, 129
Hattusili III 4, 56, 61, 71-73, 76-78, 82, 85, 88, 91, 92, 96, 139, 150, 221, 234
Hebattarakki 252
Herodotos 106, 108, 112, 116-119, 123
Hesiod 87, 223, 269
Himuili 57
Homer 68, 69, 86, 87, 102, 108, 110, 111, 266
Hulasaya 271
Hulli 98
Huwarlu 237, 259

Idrimi 90
Ilali 274, 275
Ini-Teshub 139
Iobates 111
Isputahsu 89, 166, 168

Kamani 305, 315, 320, 329
Kate 104
Katuwa 257, 295, 315, 324, 328, 329
Kherēi 120
Kheriga 119
Kikki 124
Kimon 117
Kossikas 119
Kroisos 106, 117
Kukkuli 70
Kukkunni 12, 70, 266
Kulamuwa 104
Kupanta-Kurunta 36, 50, 52, 55, 62-66, 71-73, 82, 234, 235, 256
Kupapiya 264
Kuprlli (= Kybernis) 119
Kuranna 248, 249
Kurti 271
Kurunta 5-7, 42, 79, 92, 95, 140
Kurunta-Kuwaliya 287
Kuwalanamuwa 140
Kuwattalla 138, 226, 227, 251, 253-255, 261, 262, 263
Kuzi-Teshub 141, 145, 146, 149, 264, 294, 298
Kybernis (= Kuprlli) 119

Labarna 46-48
Larama 323
Lykos 108

Maddunani 235, 237, 259
Madduwatta 6, 51-53, 62, 74
Mallidunna 249
Manapa-Tarhunta 35, 36, 38, 60, 62, 70, 71, 80
Mapili 237
Masanazami 219
Masani 219
Mashuiluwa 35, 39, 63-66, 71, 226, 234, 237
Maššana-ura 219
Massanauzzi 73
Masturi 71-73, 79
Matanazi (= Massanauzzi) 73
Mausolos 118
Melesander 118
Menekrates 108, 114, 115
Merehi 120
Merneptah 87, 107
Midas 98-100, 105
Minos 112
Mopsos 103, 125, 147
Mugallu 100
Muksa (see Mopsos) 103, 147
Mursili (II) 13, 35, 36, 40, 53, 56, 58-66, 70, 71, 75, 76, 78, 79, 82, 84, 95, 96, 213, 221, 226, 234, 235, 236, 256, 268
Mursili III (see Urhi-Teshub) 95, 96

Mursili (father of Hartapu) 95, 264
Mutallu 331
Muwaharani 151, 310, 320
Muwattalli I 166
Muwattalli (II) 7, 32, 35, 47, 48, 50, 67-72, 77, 79, 82, 91, 92, 139, 145, 217, 221, 223, 249, 269, 288,
Muwattalli (of Gurgum) 329
Muwatti 64
Muwawalwi 60, 80
Muwizi 266

Nabonidus 106
Nebuchadrezzar 106
Neriglissar 106
NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN 237
Nikander 108
Nunnu 47

Paddatissu 89
Panamuwa 274
Pandion 108
Panuni 228, 274
Panyasis 110, 115
Pariyawatri 89
Paskuwatti 237, 255, 260
Patroklos 111
Pelliya 89, 90
Perikles (of Limyra) 117, 118
Pihirim 104
Pisiri 295, 316
Piyama-Kurunta 59, 64, 65
Piyamaradu 67, 70, 71, 73, 77, 78, 82, 85
Plutarch 118
Polyaenos 118
Pompey 107
Priamos 266
Proitos 111
Puduhepa 61, 88, 167
PUGNUS-*mili* 313
Puhamme 124
Pulisa 235, 255
Puriyanni 138, 252, 254, 255

Ramses II 69, 72, 73, 87, 91, 96
Ramses III 87, 107, 113
Ruwa 261, 274

Sahurunuwa 167
Samituli 140
Sangara 293
Sargon II 97-100, 104, 105, 148, 332
Sarpedon 110-112, 115, 116
Saruwani 323
Sennacherib 104, 105, 148, 321
Shalmaneser III 97, 103, 104, 105, 273, 298, 324, 330
Shalmaneser V 98, 105
Shamshi-ilu 300
Sharri-Kushuh 59
Shaushgamuwa 71
Silalluhi 253, 254
Strabo 86, 110, 112, 121, 123
Suhi I 148, 314
Suhi II 148, 298, 315, 318, 328
Sulumal (or Sulumeli; cf. PUGNUS-*mili*) 313
Sunassura 90
Suppiluliuma (I) 56-58, 60-62, 64, 70, 84, 90, 91, 100, 146, 166, 214, 216, 232, 236
Suppiluliuma II 83, 93, 96, 139, 146, 166, 298
Suppiluliuma (of Kummuh) 150

Tahurwaili 89
Talmi-Sharruma 139
Talmi-Teshub 145, 146
Tapalazunawali 60, 235
Taprammi 139
Targasnalli 35, 63
Tarhunaradu 79
Tarhunaza 273
Tarhuntapaddu 235
Tarhuntaradu 56, 57, 213
Tarhuntiwasati 326
Tarhupiya 326
Tarkasnawa 39, 80, 82, 125, 140, 145
Tawagalawa 76-78, 82, 85
Telipinu 47, 48, 89, 166
Telipinu (son of Suppiluliuma I) 90
Theopompos 118
Theseus 113
Thucydides 113, 118
Tiglath-Pileser III 97, 98, 103-105
Tlepolemos 116
Tu(w)at(t)i 97, 124, 150, 264, 271, 313, 324
Tudhaliya I/II 36, 48-52, 55, 62, 69, 74, 84, 90, 145, 146, 166, 167
Tudhaliya III 56, 59, 62, 65

Tudhaliya IV 4-6, 42, 71, 74-75, 78-83, 92, 109, 139-141, 145-147, 173, 176, 234, 253, 286
Tukulti-Ninurta 98
Tunnawi(ya) 138, 225, 247-249, 254, 255, 260, 263
Tushratta 91

Uhhamuwa 174, 222, 235, 255, 259
Uhhaziti 58-61, 64, 235
Ulmi-Teshub 92, 223
Ummaya 235, 255
Ura-Hattusa 36
Uratami 150
Ura-Tarhunta 61
Ura-Tarhunza 221
Urballa (see Warpalawa) 98, 151
Urhilina 150
Urhi-Teshub 71, 72, 92, 95, 96
Urikki (see Awariku) 104, 148, 327
Ushpilulume (= Suppiluliuma) 150

Vespasian 107

Walmu 12, 80, 81
Warika (see Awariku) 148, 327
Warpalawa 98, 151, 224, 271, 273, 275, 276, 304, 319, 320, 323, 335, 336
Warpiri 271
Wassurme (= Wasusarma) 97, 151
Wasusarma 97, 98, 151, 271
Wati 315

Xa/eriga (= Kheriga) 15
Xerēi (= Kherēi) 15
Xerxes 119

Yariri 295, 315
Yarri 242

Zarpiya 138, 174, 222, 228, 252, 255
Zidanta II 89, 90
Zuwahallati 237
Zuwani 140
Zuwi 249

DEITIES

Allani 227, 262
Allanzu 272
Alasuwa 271, 272
Anna 244
Annamiluli 252
Annarummenzi 228, 252
]appaliunas 267
Aphrodite 267
Apollo 108, 121, 236, 267
Arma viii, 219, 223, 227, 228, 273
Artemis 108, 121, 231, 268, 269
Aruna 244
Asdutta 244
Assiya 219, 221, 225
Astabi 141
Athena 231
Atri-Suha 328
Awatta 232, 243, 244
Ayanti 219

Baal 229, 276
Bes 317

Darawa 219, 220

Ea 220, 252, 271, 272, 277
ēni mahanahi 121
Estan 225, 227

^{d}GAZ.BA.A.A (= Huwassanna) 247
Grain-god 276
Gurnuwala 219, 241
Gursantati 246

Hadad 274
Hapantaliya 219, 225
Harduppi 244
Haristassi 246
Hebat 141, 220, 251, 271, 272, 321, 325
Helios 226
Hera 108
Heracles 229
Huwassanna viii, 219, 229, 230, 232, 243, 244-247, 254, 273, 274

Ilali 219, 220, 225
Ilaliyant 219, 225
Ilaliyantikes 225
Immarsiya 219, 240
Inara 219, 239, 241
Innarawant 219
Innarawantes 228, 252

Ishtar 56, 246
Ishtar-Shaushka 305
Istanu 225
Iyasalassi 240
Iyasalla 219, 240

Kamrusepa viii, 21, 138, 219, 220, 225, 230, 231, 257
Karhuha ix, 321
^{D}KASKAL.KUR 267
Kasku 227
Katahziwuri 230
Kinaliya 219, 241
Kubaba ix, 100, 221, 271-273, 305, 320, 321, 326
Kuišḫamaššani 218, 219
Kumarbi 276
Kupilla 232, 244
Kurunta (= ^{D}LAMMA) 219, 229, 273
Kushuh 141, 227
Kybele 273

Lallariya 232, 243
^{D}LAMMA (= Tutelary Deity) viii, 187, 219, 225, 227, 229, 232, 237, 238, 240, 244, 269
innarawant- 229, 238
^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* 229, 237, 238, 269
lulimmi 229, 238
šarlaimi 229, 232, 244
Lelwani 18
Leto 108, 121
Lilaya 244
Liliya 232
Malis 232
Maliya viii, 219, 230-232, 241, 250, 265
Maliyanni 231, 250
Marwainzi 219, 228, 229, 236
Matrōna 19
Moon-god 223, 227, 228, 271, 273
Muhili 226
Muli 232, 244, 273

Neptūnus 20
Nergal 220
NIN.TU (= DINGIR.MAḪ) 246
Ninatta 251

Pegasos 223, 269
Pirwa 219, 220, 231

Runta (= Runtiya) 277
Runtiya 184, 229, 230, 273
Runza (see Runtiya) 313, 334

Santa viii, 219, 227-229, 252, 274
Sharruma 140, 220, 271, 272, 325
Shaushka 141, 220, 234, 251, 312, 313
Shimegi 141
Sinuri 241
Siuri 219, 240, 241
Siwata 220, 252
Skandha 228
Stag-god 184
Storm-god (see also Tarhunt) viii, ix, 20, 21, 49, 56, 59, 139, 140, 145, 147, 150, 174, 175, 203, 217, 220-226, 232, 234, 240, 242, 244, 248-250, 252, 253, 259, 266, 269-272, 274, 276, 283, 288, 289, 291, 305, 312-320, 322, 327, 332, 333, 335, 336
of Aleppo 150, 289, 305, 312
of the Army 56, 221, 266
of Arzawa 221, 234
of Hatti 56
of Hupisna 232
of Istanuwa 240
of Kuwaliya 221, 234
of lightning 223, 249, 269-270
of the open country 252
of the vineyard 224, 320
ariyaddali 248
piḫaššašši 217, 223, 232, 269
dupattanaššin 253
warraḫitaššaš 222
Suhili 226
Sun-god (see also Tiwad) viii, 21, 173, 178, 195, 219, 223-227, 231, 240, 241, 244, 245, 253, 259, 261, 271, 277
of the gate-house 240
of Lusna 226
ḫirutalliš 26
Sun-goddess 20, 21, 75, 139, 174, 175, 219, 220, 223, 225, 227, 240, 250, 254, 261, 262
of Arinna 75, 139, 174, 223, 250
of the Earth 21, 219, 220, 227, 254, 261, 262
Suwasunna 219, 240

Tarhunna (see Tarhunt) 20, 21
Tarhunt viii, 21, 91, 220-224, 231, 240, 257, 270-272, 276, 277
Tarhunza (see Tarhunt) ix, 248, 259, 263, 273, 276, 317-320, 335, 336
Taru 221
Tarwalliya 219, 241
Telipinu 20, 225
Teshub 141, 272
Tiwad viii, 21, 195, 219, 220, 224-227, 231, 240, 252, 257, 261
Trikasbos 222
Trqqas 221, 222, 265
Trqqiz 221, 265
Trqqñt 21
Tutelary Deity (= ^{D}LAMMA) ix, 225, 226, 229, 231, 269, 322
of the hunting bag (= ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*) 269
of Taurisa 225, 231
Typhon 276

^{D}UD.SIG$_5$, 249
Ululiyassi 220, 238
Uramassani 218, 220
Urzamassani 218, 220
Utiyanuni 220
^{D}UTU-*li-ya* 226
^{D}UTU *tiyammaššiš* (= Sun-goddess of Earth) 220, 227

Walippantalla/i 220
Wandu 220, 240
Warwaliya 220
Waskuwatassi 220
Wine-god 276
Winiyanta 220, 240, 241
Wistassi 220, 240

Yarri 219, 228, 236, 240

ZABABA 232
Zarnizza 244
Zawalli 234
Zeus 269, 276, 318
Zeus Dolichenus 318
Zilipura 220

LANDS, PEOPLES, AND DYNASTIES

Achaean 82
Adaniya 89
Ahhiyawa(n) 7, 45, 59, 60, 67, 70, 71, 73, 77-82, 85, 87, 267, 268
Akhaioi 43
Alasiya 44, 75, 83, 87, 93
Amazons 111
Amuq 161, 277, 289, 332
Amurru 71
Anatolia v, vi, x, xiii, 2-5, 10-15, 17, 21-28, 30-35, 38, 40-44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53-56, 61, 62, 64, 67-70, 74-76, 78-88, 90, 91, 93, 96-107, 110, 112, 114, 124, 126, 127, 129, 139, 146, 147, 167-169, 174-176, 184, 211-215, 220-222, 224, 225, 227, 229, 232, 236, 239, 241, 244, 252, 256, 262, 264-268, 270, 272, 274, 275, 277, 280, 285-288, 297, 301, 302, 308, 319, 333, 335
Appawiya 6, 35
Aramaean(s) 282-284
Arawanna 75
Ard]uqqa 74
Argos 43, 111
Arzawa(n) v, viii, 2, 6, 32-62, 64-70, 72, 73, 75, 78, 79, 82, 87, 88, 108, 169, 174, 213-215, 217, 221, 222, 229, 233-238, 255, 259, 265, 266, 268, 270, 278, 285-287
Arzawiya 32, 47
Asia (province) 7, 107
Asia Minor 1, 2, 7, 53, 104, 117, 172, 218
Assuwa(n) 7, 49, 68, 69, 74, 110, 268
Assyria(ns) 16, 23, 27, 69, 97-100, 102-105, 124, 130-132, 148-151, 220, 230, 273, 277, 283, 284, 289, 293-296, 300, 302, 303, 306-310, 314-316, 318-323, 327, 328, 331, 332, 334-337
Attica 113
Azzi 79

Babylonia(ns) 22, 69, 100, 103, 105, 113, 252
Balkans 24, 26, 28
Bit-Burutash 97, 98

Bithynia 7, 22
Blaene 11

Canaan 93
Cappadocia 222
Caria(ns) 7, 14, 33, 85, 107, 113, 118, 213, 228, 241, 270
Caucasus 28
Cilicia Aspera 42, 101-104, 106, 107, 126
Cilicia Campestris 102-104
Cilicia(ns) vi, 31, 42, 75, 87, 88, 99, 101-107, 116, 117, 123, 126, 147, 148, 167, 168, 228, 276, 278, 283, 288, 290, 291, 297, 301, 302
Cimmerians 99, 100
Commagene (see also Kummuh) 150, 161, 271, 337
Crete 33, 85, 112, 113, 168
Cyprus 75, 88

Danuna 103, 104

Egypt(ians) 4, 40, 44, 56, 58, 67, 69, 75, 87, 91, 93, 96, 113, 129-131, 168, 179, 213, 282, 311, 317
Ekwesh 87
Elmalı, 109
Etruscan 282

Galatia 107
Graeci 44
Greece 59, 81, 85, 86, 112, 266, 282, 286
Greek(s) vi, ix, 4, 12, 42-45, 68, 74, 78, 82-87, 98, 101-104, 107-119, 121-124, 126, 129, 147, 222, 223, 226, 229, 232, 236, 265-270, 273, 276, 278, 282, 286, 331
Gurgum 131, 149, 308, 323, 329

Hanigalbat 69
Hapalla 6, 7, 35, 40, 49, 51, 53-55, 57, 62, 174, 213, 235
Hatti v, 1, 10, 22, 27-31, 33, 34, 40, 41, 45-48, 50-53, 55-62, 65, 66, 69, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78-81, 83, 84, 87-93, 95-97, 103, 125, 214, 217, 222, 223, 235, 236
Hattian(s) 18, 21, 22, 25, 30, 32, 33, 213, 215, 216, 221, 225, 227, 229, 230, 239, 249
Hellenistic vi, 101, 107, 120, 121, 123, 126, 213, 221, 222, 229, 291, 294, 306, 308
Hilakku (cf. Cilicia Aspera) 98, 99, 102, 104, 105
Hittite(s) v, ix, xi, 1-4, 6, 10-17, 20-22, 23, 24, 25-35, 38, 40-85, 88, 97, 99-101, 104, 107, 109, 112, 125-130, 133, 139, 146-148, 152, 153, 166-168, 173, 211-227, 230-234, 236-245, 248, 250-257, 261, 262, 264-270, 272, 275-282, 285-288, 290, 292, 294, 295, 297, 298, 303-305, 307, 311, 313, 319, 327
Hume (= Que) 103, 105
Hurri(ans) 31, 34, 43, 84, 88-91, 100, 124, 129, 148, 159, 212-215, 220, 222, 227, 233-236, 239, 241, 251, 252, 255, 262, 272, 275-279

Ionia(ns) 213, 268
Isauria 31, 42, 76, 101, 107
Ishuwa 140
Israelites 277

Kalasma 75
Karkisa 7, 33, 60, 76
Karkiya 7
Kaska 58, 75, 79
Kizzuwatna(n) viii, ix, 2, 12, 31, 34, 88-91, 101, 103, 105, 124, 166, 167, 174, 211, 212, 214, 217, 218, 222, 225, 227, 233, 236, 238, 239, 250-252, 255, 258, 260, 272, 275-278
Kummuh 149, 283, 285, 331, 337
Kuwaliya 6, 31, 35, 36, 54, 62-65, 71, 73, 79, 213, 221, 234, 256

Latmos 143, 213
Lazpa (= Lesbos) 38, 175, 267
Lesbos 38
Libya 87
Lower Land viii, 6, 7, 40, 47, 56-58, 62, 88, 91, 97, 100, 101, 213, 214, 217, 218, 232, 233, 238, 239, 243, 246-250, 254, 270, 272, 278

Lukka v, vi, 5, 14, 33, 34, 40-45, 53, 54, 73-80, 83-87, 101, 107-110, 112, 124, 126, 176, 213, 217, 234
Luwiya 1-3, 10, 14, 27-32, 40, 43, 45, 54
Lycaonia 14, 31, 42, 76, 101, 107
Lycia(ns) vi, 5, 14, 15, 31, 39, 42, 74, 76-79, 85, 86, 101, 102, 106-126, 212, 213, 222, 228, 229, 231, 253, 265
Lydia(ns) 39, 106, 117, 229, 232, 270

Macedon 120
Maionia 22, 33
Masa 7, 33, 66, 76, 83, 234
Medes 106
Melid (= Malatya) 100, 149, 313, 314
Mesopotamia(n) 28, 31, 43, 128, 129, 131, 168, 220, 267, 273
Minoan 33, 85
Mira 5, 6, 31, 35, 36, 38-40, 49, 51-55, 60, 62-67, 71-73, 75, 79, 80, 82, 125, 140, 141, 145, 213, 234, 256, 268, 285-287
Mira-Kuwaliya 36, 54, 60, 62, 63, 65, 71, 73, 75, 79, 213, 234, 256,
Mittanni 43, 57, 90, 91
Mushki (= Phrygians) 98
Mycenae(ans) 7, 43, 45, 59, 67, 81, 82, 84-87, 112, 265
Mysia 33

Palā, 10, 11, 27-29
Palaian(s) 27, 224
Pamphylia 31, 42, 101, 107, 120, 147
Paphlagonia 27
Pedassa 6, 39, 65, 75
Peloponnese 111, 268
Persia(ns) 106, 115, 117-121, 123
Philistines 236
Phrygian(s) 98, 105, 272, 273, 284, 336
Pirindu 106
Pisidia 6, 31, 40, 42, 76, 101
Ptolemaic 120
Ptolemies 107

Qode (= Cilicia?) 87
Que (cf. Cilicia Campestris) 4, 98-100, 103-105, 124, 148, 327

Roman(s) vi, 44, 101-103, 107, 120-124, 286, 291, 294, 319
Russia 28

Sea Peoples 45, 83, 87, 107, 113
Seha River Land 6, 7, 35, 36, 38, 39, 49, 54, 60, 62, 70-73, 76, 79, 80, 213
Seleucid(s) 107, 120
Shekelesh 87
Sherden 87
Solymians 111
Syennesis 106
Syria(n) ix, 2, 5, 12, 22, 31, 43, 46, 48, 51, 57, 67, 69, 71, 72, 87, 88, 90, 91, 93, 96, 100, 104, 105, 107, 126, 127, 129, 139, 146, 169, 172, 181, 211, 212, 214, 215, 236, 264, 267, 273, 274, 277, 279, 281-283, 288, 294-299, 302, 305, 333

Tabal(ian) vi, ix, 97-100, 104, 105, 124, 147, 150, 151, 161, 214, 220, 224, 248, 261, 264, 270-276, 278, 279, 282, 283, 285, 291, 292, 302, 306, 309, 310, 316, 319, 320, 323, 324, 331-333, 336
Tarhuntassa 5-7, 31, 42, 67, 88, 91-93, 95, 96, 101, 140, 141, 147, 214, 217, 223, 227, 248, 269, 288
Taruisa 6, 68, 69, 74, 110
Tarwiza 6, 69
Teresh 87
Termilae 108, 112, 113
Teucrid 107
Trm̃mili (= Lycian) 108, 113, 116
Trm̃misa (= Lycia) 108, 113, 116
Troad 11, 38, 40, 54, 68, 74, 102
Trojan 68-70, 82, 109, 110, 266
Tubal (= Tabal) 97
Tyanitis 47, 97, 150
Tyrsenoi 87

Unqi/Patina 150, 289, 290, 311
Walma 6, 7, 60
Wilusa 5-7, 11, 12, 35, 36, 38, 47-49, 68-71, 73, 80-83, 213, 221, 265-268, 270, 287
Wilusiya 49, 68, 69, 74, 110

CITIES AND SITES

Abarnani 105
Adıyaman 143, 318
Adana 88, 103, 148, 201, 288, 297, 327
Adena 333
Afyon 6, 39, 140, 285, 286
Aksaray 95, 143, 319, 336
Alalah 169
Alatahana 298
Aleppo 140, 143, 150, 169, 255, 277, 283, 289, 298, 304, 305, 312, 313
Altıntepe 135
Amarna 75, 286
Ambarderesı 336
Ancoz 143, 150
Andaval 143, 323
Angulla 249
Ankara 1, 69, 98, 328
Antioch 150
Antiphellos 39
Apasa (= Ephesos) 6, 31, 39, 53, 59, 60, 175, 235, 268, 286
Arana 88
Arinna 56, 75, 109, 139, 174, 223, 250
Arñna (= Xanthos) 108, 109
Arslantepe (see Malatya) 290
Artymnesos 115
Assos 7
Athens 108, 117, 118
Atriya 109
Attarimma 77
Awarna (= Xanthos) 109
Ayasuluk (see Ephesos) 286
Azatiwadaya 276

Babylon 106, 150, 283, 289, 318
Beycesultan 31, 285
Beyköy 143, 286
Birecik 320, 334
Boğazköy vi, 1, 128, 130-132, 140, 141, 143, 167, 169, 286, 304
Bor 131, 143, 323, 336
Boybeypınarı, 143
Burunkaya 95, 143, 172

Carchemish 87, 88, 100, 131, 139, 145-149, 151, 197, 264, 272, 283-285, 288, 289, 293-296, 298, 299, 303, 305, 307, 309, 311, 314-316, 318, 320, 323, 324, 327-329, 331, 333
Çatal Hüyük 289
Cekke 143, 318
Çiftlik 143, 324
Çineköy 143, 288, 291
Corycos 276

Dainis (='Ελαία) 11
Dalawa (= Tlos) 74, 109
Darende 143, 324
Daydalı/Emirdağ 284
Demircihüyük 26
Doliche 318
Domuztepe 143, 291, 301, 308, 322, 333
Dülük (= Doliche) 319
Durmitta 249

Ebla 305
'Ελαία (= Dainis) 11
Elbistan 147, 149, 308
Ephesos (= Apasa Selçuk) 6, 31, 39, 53, 268, 269, 286
Ereğli 143, 243

Gaziantep 143, 319
Gökbez 335
Gölpınar 318, 322
Gordion 98, 239
Gözlü Kule (see Tarsus) 290

Habesos 39
Haçıbebekli 322
Haçıbektaş 302
Hama 131, 143, 150, 161, 277, 284, 290, 297, 300, 303, 306-308
Hamath (= Hama) 131, 150
Harmana 271
Harran 227, 273
Hatip 92, 143, 288, 343
Hattusa 1-3, 10-13, 15, 27, 30, 42, 45, 46, 49, 56, 64, 66, 72, 73, 80, 83, 91-93, 95, 96, 103, 128, 129, 139, 140, 146, 147, 152, 166, 169, 170, 173, 174, 211, 214, 216, 219, 233, 234, 236, 238, 242, 248, 250-256, 269, 280, 298

Havuz 302, 308
Hinduwa (= Kandyba) 74
Hissashapa 223
Holmi 6
Hupisna (= Kybestra) viii, 214, 229, 232, 243, 245-247, 249, 254, 273
Hurma 47, 252
Huwassana 47
Hyde (= Uda) 56

Işpekçür 324, 325
Ikuna (= Konya) 83
Ilion 68, 266
Incirli 290
Ishupitta 58
Ishuruwa 252
Istanuwa viii, 139, 175, 214, 220, 233, 239, 240, 241, 242, 244, 249, 250, 254, 256, 258
Iyalanda 74
Izmir 39, 286

Kızıldağ 95, 96, 97, 291, 302, 334
Kahramanmaraş (= Maraş) 290, 309
Kandyba (= Hinduwa) 74
Kanesh (= Nesa) 3, 15, 21, 27, 129, 212, 220, 225
Kaplawiya 250
Karaburun 143, 302
Karahna 223
Karahöyük 143, 167
Karaman 291
Karapınar 335
Karasu 334
Karataş Semayük 109
Karatepe 103, 104, 143, 147, 291, 294, 297, 301, 304, 306, 309-311, 316, 317, 327
Karnak 87
Kayseri 97, 143, 309, 316, 332, 335
Keşlik 143, 319
Khorsabad 302, 332
Kilise Tepe 288, 361
Kinet Hüyük 290
Kirçoğlu 332
Kisuatni 105
Konya (= Ikuna) 38, 47, 74, 92, 95, 215
Kuliwisna 232, 243, 246
Kültepe 228, 291, 316
Kululu 97, 143, 151, 161, 291, 309-311, 323, 328, 331, 332
Kummanni 88
Kunalua 289, 311
Kuniyawanni 47
Kussara 5, 22
Kybestra (= Hupisna) 243

Lallupiya viii, 139, 233, 239-243, 254
Landa 47, 214, 219, 263
Lawazantiya 5, 88, 105
Limantepe 286
Limyra (=Zēmure) 74, 117
Lusanda 105
Lusna 226

Maşat 15
Magnesia 120
Malatya 143, 146, 147, 264, 283, 290, 294, 296, 303, 307, 313, 321, 324, 325, 330, 331
Malpınar 143, 337
Maraş 131, 143, 149, 161, 283, 284, 290, 296, 308-310, 322, 325, 326, 329, 330, 332
Marqas (see Maraş) 149, 290
Masuwari (= Til Barsip , Tell Ahmar) 148, 289, 300, 318
Medinet Habu 87
Mersin 290, 344
Meskene (= Emar) 136, 159
Metropolis 213
Midas City 284
Milawata 33, 39, 58, 59, 80-83, 109
Miletos (= Milawata) 6, 59, 112, 167, 169, 287
Millawanda (= Milawata) 6, 33, 39, 58, 59, 67, 85, 112
Mopsoukrene 103
Mopsuestia 103
Myra 121

Nenassa 249
Nesa (= Kanesh) 15, 21, 27, 129
Nişantepe (see Boğazköy) 159, 166
Niğde 131, 143, 291, 301, 309, 311, 317, 319, 335
Nimrud 97, 150, 302
Nippur 113

Oinoanda (= Wiyanawanda) 79
Olba 107
Olympos 121

Palanga 143, 331
Panaztepe 286
Parha (= Perge) 5, 42
Parsa 223
Patara (= Pttara) 109, 121
Perge (= Parha) 5, 42
Persepolis 113
Phaestos 167
Phaselis 116
Pina[ ] (= Pinara) 109
Pinara 109, 115, 121
Porsuk 6, 143, 302
Pttara (= Patara) 109
Puranda 60
Pylos 43, 268

Qadesh 69

Ras Shamra (= Ugarit) vi, 4, 13, 133, 134, 136
Rhodes 116

Sıkızlar 299
Sahasara 47
Sakça Gözü 284
Sallapa 65
Samsat 143, 149, 337
Samuha 56, 234
Sana(h)witta 5
Sardis 39
Selçuk (= Ephesos) 286
Sinahu 88
Sinuwanda 88
Sirkeli 143, 288
Sivas 324, 331
Soli 290
Sultanhan 97, 143, 320
Suratkaya 287

Tamina 83
Tamininga 246
Tarsus 89, 106, 166, 167, 229, 290
Taurisa 187, 197, 225, 231, 257
Tavşan Tepesı 321
Tell Ahmar (= Til Barsip) 143, 161, 283, 289, 300, 318
Tell Halaf 332
Tell Judeideh 289
Tell Tayinat 143, 150, 283, 289, 303, 306, 329
Telmessos 77, 118
Termessos 77
Thebes 43
Til Barsip (= Tell Ahmar) 148, 283
Tiryns 86, 112
Tlawa (= Tlos) 74, 109
Tlos 74, 109, 115, 121
Topaklı 302
Troy 6, 11, 12, 31, 68, 81, 110, 112, 113, 213, 266, 267, 287
Tunna 219, 223, 248
Tuwan(uw)a 47, 56, 97, 98, 131, 150, 151, 214, 224, 249, 271, 291, 304, 310, 319, 323, 335
Tyana (= Tuwan(uw)a) 56, 335

Uda (= Hyde) 56
Ugarit (= Ras Shamra) 4, 40, 45, 83, 93, 133
Ura 93
Urfa 290
Utima 109

Wallarimma 74
Warsiyalla 76
Wiyanawanda (= Oinoanda) 74, 75, 79, 83, 109

Xanthos 14, 108, 110, 114, 115, 117, 119-122

Yalburt 74, 79, 109, 143, 176, 286
Yazılıkaya 143, 145
Yesemek 299
Yümüktepe (see Mersin) 290

Zēmure (= Limyra) 74
Zincirli (= Sam'al) 143, 284, 317, 329
Zumarri (=Zēmure) 74
Zunnahara 88

MOUNTAINS

Amanus 104, 105
Anti-Taurus 88, 103, 302, 308
Arinnanda (= Mycale) 60

Cebel Ires Dağı 219

Göllüdağ 224, 291, 301, 304, 307, 309-311, 317, 319

Harhara 271
Hisarlik 287
Hurtula (= Nimrud Dağ?) 150

Karabel 39, 82, 125, 140, 141, 143, 213, 286, 287
Karadağ 95, 96, 143, 147, 150, 159, 264, 270

Melendiz Dağları 301, 317, 319, 321
Muti (= Toros Dağ) 273
Mycale 60

Patara 109

Sarlaimi 232
Sarpa (= Karaca Dağ) 244

Taurus 42, 103, 107, 141, 214, 335
Tmolus 39

Zippasla 52

RIVERS, LAKES, AND SEAS

Aegean 38, 40, 42, 54, 58, 84-86, 99, 113, 114, 168, 169, 211, 213, 268, 270
Akar Çay (= Cayster) 6, 60
Astarpa 6, 60

Banaz Çay 6
Black Sea 23, 28
Bosporus 26

Caicos 11, 38, 40
Cayster 7
Cayster (=Akar Çay) 60
Cestros 5, 6, 42
Ceyhan 291, 301

Euphrates 88, 283, 288, 290, 300, 318

Halys (= Kızıl Irmak) 1, 2, 11, 15, 21, 27, 97, 106, 213, 214, 249
Hermos 38-40
Hulaya 91

Kızıl Irmak (= Halys) 1, 27, 213
Kastaraya (= Cestros) 42
Kummayanni 256

Maeander (= Menderes) 6, 31, 38-40, 54, 213
Marassantiya (= Halys) 47, 56, 88, 97, 238
Mediterranean 41, 47, 75, 84, 88, 93, 107, 122, 213
Menderes (= Maeander) 38

Orontes 290

Porsuk 6
Sahiriya (= Sangarios) 239, 241
Sakarya (= Sangarios) 239
Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) 6, 7, 39, 40, 54, 249
Sangarios (= Sakarya) 6, 239
Seydi 6
Sibros (= Xanthos, Sirbis) 110
Siyanta 6, 52, 235

Volga 24

Xanthos 108-110, 115-118, 176

LANGUAGES

Akkadian 23, 28, 89, 129, 134, 152-154, 178, 181, 229
Aramaic 118, 149, 274, 283

Carian v, vii, 10, 14, 15, 175-177, 213
Caucasian 25

Hattic 15-21, 23, 25, 184
Hittite v, 10-28, 30, 128-130, 132, 137, 138, 140, 141, 152, 154, 165, 168, 170, 171, 173-176, 178, 180-182, 184, 187-189, 191, 192, 194, 196, 198-202, 204-210, 219-221, 224, 241, 250-252, 261, 269
Hurrian 31, 34, 43, 129, 141, 148, 159, 198

Lycian v, vii, 10-18, 21, 114, 130, 134, 175-178, 180-182, 184, 197, 218, 221, 222, 225, 257, 265
Lydian v, 10, 12, 22, 175, 180-182, 213, 225
Milyan 14, 176

Nesite (= Hittite) v, 15, 27, 28, 30, 125, 281

Palaic v, 10, 18, 24, 26, 129, 213, 225, 251
Phoenician 103, 104, 133, 147, 148, 219, 274-277, 291, 319, 327
Pisidian vii, 10, 175-177

Sidetic vii, 10, 175-177, 213
Sumerian 23, 152

Tocharian 25

Urartian 135, 341

CUNEIFORM LUWIAN

a- 177, 179, 209, 210
a-ḫa 179
a-aḫ-ḫa 179
-aḫit- 198
aḫra- 262
-al- 197
-alla/ī- 16, 195
$^{\text{NINDA}}$*alalunza* 247
alḫuitra- 243, 244, 245, 246
-ama/ī- 195
-an- 197
-anna- (verbal) 200, 206
ānna/ī- 188, 197
-anna/ī- 196
a-an-na-an 183
an-na-a-an 183
ānnara/ī- 197
ānnari- 197
ānnawann(ī)- 188, 197
-antaru 194
-ant(ī)- 198
-anzašša- 171
apā- 189, 190
**āppara/ī-* 196
apatī(n) 207
a-a-ra-ti 179
a-ar-ra-ya-ti 179
arindu 183
ariya- 197
$^{\text{GIŠ}}$*ariyal-* 197
ariyaddalli- 248
ariyaddu 183
arma- 196
armanna/ī- 196
aru- 198
-aru 193
aruta 188
arutati 188
āš-~aš- 199
āšš- 185
āššanta 185
-aš 172, 190, 193, 204
-ašša/ī- 171, 196, 202
-aššan 188
-aššanzan 188
-aššanzanz(a) 188
-aššanzati 188
-(a)šḫa- 196
*āšḫan-** 198
ašḫanuwant(ī)- 198

āšḫar 198
-aš(ša)ra/ī- 196
ašta- 196
-ašt(ar)ra/ī- 196
^{NA_4}*āššu-* 178, 198
a-a-ta 177
a-at-ta 177
-ata 172, 190, 201
āttanī, 192
adandu 183
aduna 183
ādduwal- 188
ādduwāl 179, 187
ādduwala 187, 188, 208
ādduwal-za 179, 183, 188
awī- 200
āyatra 174
aztūwari 183, 205

-ḫ(ḫ)a (verbal) 172, 192
-ḫa 191, 196, 200, 208, 210
ḫa-la-a-li- 179
ḫa-al-li-iš-(ša) 179
ḫalliyatanza 253
ḫantawadaḫi-ša 182
ḫandawadaḫit- 198
ḫantawat(i)- 198
ḫantil(ī)- 195
ḫāpa/ī- 196
ḫapāta/ī- 196
ḫapiriya- 262
*ḫappiš-*198
ḫarwanna/ī- 199
ḫarwanni(ya)- 199
ḫattašt(ar)ra/ī- 183, 196
^{URU}*Ḫattušaya* 187
ḫāwa/ī- 163, 197
ḫawiyaššа/ī- 197
ḫazziwit- 182
ḫīrūn 18, 179
ḫuinuwa- 199
*ḫuitwaliya-*262
ḫŭmma 187
ḫupparta/ī- 196
ḫur-ki-la-aš-ši- 249
ḫūta- 196
*ḫutarlā-*23, 196
ḫuwaššanalli- 237, 245-247, 258

ī- 199, 200, 206
-il(ī)- 195
im(ma)ralla/ī- 244
ipala/ī- 195
irḫwalliya- 262
^{GIŠ}*ir(ḫ)uit-* 182
-it- 198
-iya- 183, 197, 202
-izza- 197

kantanna- 196
kappilazza- 205
kui- 177, 191
kuišḫa 191
$^{GIŠ.ḪUR}$*gulzattar* 178
kumma- 256, 257
kummaiy(a)- 197
kup(iya)- 197
kupiyat(i)- 197
guršaw(a)n- 198
guršauwananza 60
guršawar 198
^{NA_4}*kuttaš(ša)ra/ī-* 198
kuwa- 191
ku(wa)lan- 197
^{NINDA}*kuwanzunaššiš* 247
kuwappal- 223
kuwar-~kur- 199
kuwaršašša- 262
kuwatī(n) 207

-la/ī- 195
lā(ḫ)un(ā)i- 182
lāla/ī- 195
lalāma 179, 185
lalama/ī- 195
lalamiš 185
lilailu 194
lilandu 194
lulaḫiya- 262
lulimmi- 229

-ma/ī- 195
-m(m)a/ī- 194, 195, 197, 198
mām-pa 183
mān 207
-mman- 197
mān... mān 207
mar(ru)wašḫa- 196
-mmaš 172, 190
^{LÚ}*maššanāma/ī-* 195, 218, 245, 258
maššan(ī)- 195, 197, 218, 219, 258
maddu- 198

mayaššin EME-*in* 263
-mi 160, 175, 189, 190, 192, 203
melta- 231
mī(ya)ša- 195
-mu 160, 175, 183, 189, 190, 204
mūwa- 179, 266
muwattalla/ī- 221

na-na- 199
**nānaš(ša)ra/ī-* 196
nānum-pa 183, 209
**nanuntarra/ī-* 196
natḫit- 198
nā(wa) 206
nāwa- 195
URU*Ninuwawann(ī)-* 198
nīš 206
niwalla/ī- 199
nut- 249
-nz(a) 186, 189

pā, 172, 173, 200, 209
-pa 183, 201, 208, 209
pāiu 174, 175
parittarwalliya- 262
pariyanalla- 262
parnan-za 183, 202
NINDA*partaninzi* 247
patalḫā(i)- 199
piḫamma/ī- 195, 223
NINDA*piḫaddaššiš* 247
pí-pí-iš-ša- 184
pīya- 174, 184, 200
puwatil- 262

**šarla/ī-* 195
NINDA*šarlattaššiš* 247
šāwatar 196

-t(t)a- 196
-ta- 196
-tta (particle) 200, 204, 210
tāini(ya)- 184
dāniti- 258
tappa- 181
tapar(iya)- 19
taparu- 262
tappaš- 198
-tar 196, 210
-ttar/-ttn- 198
**targašna-* 195

tarma/ī- 195, 199
tarmattar 198
tarmattn- 198
tarmī-~tarmai- 199
-ttaru 193
tāruš- 198
tāda/ī- 195, 197
dadalla/ī- 195
ta-tarḫ- 199
tātariyamman- 197
ta-ta-ri-ya-am-ma 179
tāti(ya)- 197
URU*Taurišizza-* 187, 197
tāwa/ī- 195
dāuwa 185
dāwīš 185, 188
-t(t)i- 197
tiwadani(ya)- 226
tiwadiya- 181
tiwaliya- 181
tiwariya- 171, 173
Ti-wa-az 178
tiyaneššwi 205, 206
-t(t)u 175, 192
tuliya- 262
tummantiya- 20, 249
dūndu 183
dūpadupar-ša 253, 263
dūpi-~dūpai- 199
tūrā- 199
GIŠ*tūra/ī-* 199
dušša niyallaš 174
dušduma/ī- 195
tuwa- 189
dūwandu 183

u(wa)lant(ī)- 198
ulantalliya- 262
-una 179, 194, 198
-un-ni 179
ūnza(š) 172, 189
upa- 198
ūppa- 200
upatit- 23, 198
ura- 199
urannu- 199
urazza- 219
uššaī- 195
utar-ša 183

waḫra- 262

walli(ya)- 199
-wann(i)- 197
-want- 198
-war/-w(a)n- 198
NINDA*warmani(n)zi* 247
waššar- 19, 196
wašḫa- 257
wašḫaya- 257
wašḫazza- 197, 257
wāšu- 178, 190
wāšun 179
wayaḫit- 251
-wi 182, 192
wiš(a)i- 193
wišita 193, 204

zā- 190
-zza- 197
zart- 195
UZU*zār-za* 182
zātī, 179, 190
zāwi(n) 204
zī- 178, 190, 199, 205
zida/ī- 23
ziyadu- 245
zūwa- 195

HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN

/a-/ 179, 183, 205, 209, 210
/-ahid-/ 198
/-alla/i:-/ 195
/ama/i:-/ 182, 189, 210
/amu/ 161, 182, 189, 210, 330, 335, 337
/-an-/ 197
/annantarra/i:-/ 196
/-ant(i:)-/ 198
/-antaru/ 194
/-ants/ 186, 190
/antsa-/ 189
/antsunts/ 172, 189
á-zu-za 172, 189
/aba-/ 182, 189, 190, 210
á-pa- 189, 190
/appara/i:-/ 196
**a-pa-si-i* 187
/ara/ 165, 177, 179
á-ra+a 177, 179
ARATALI- 248
a-a-ra-ti 179
("LONGUS")*a+ra/i-ya* 179
a-ar-ra-ya-ti 179
/-ari/ 179
/-aru/ 193
(*78)*a-ru-ti-sá* 188
/as-/ 199
/-assa/i:-/ 196
/-assan/ 188
/-(a)sha-/ 196
/-asi/ 186, 187, 191
/-assra/i:-/ 196
/Assurawann(i:)-/ 198
/asta-/ 196
á-sa-ta- 196
/-astra/i:-/ 196
/Astu(w)-adamantsa-/ 181
[1]*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la-ma-za-sa* 181
[1]*á-sa-tu-wa/i-ta/i$_4$-ma-za-* 181
/Astuwaramantsa-/ 172
á-sa-tu-⌜wa/i⌝+ra/i-ma-za- 172
(SCALPRUM)/assu-/ 198
/ada/ 177, 179, 201, 208
á-tà, 177, 179
/adaman-tsa/ 182
á-tà-tu-u 183
/-adi/ 179, 186
á-tu-na~á-ru-na 183
/adduwarintsi/ 180
(MALUS)*á-tu-wa/i+ra/i-zi* 180
/awi:-/ 200
á-za-tu 183

/-ha/ 172, 191, 200, 201, 208, 209
(NEPOS)*ha-ma-su-ka-la* 187
/-han/ 172, 193
/haniyadastradi/ 180
/haniyadintsi/ 180
/Hantawadahid-/ 182, 198
/Habad/ra/i:-/ 196
/harwanni(ya)-/ 199
/Hasa-/ 195
(NEPOS)*ha-su-* 17
(*274)/Hatalli:-~Hatallai-/ 199
/Hattastra/i:-/ 196
/Hawa/i:-/ 197
ha-zi-(ya)- 178
/Hi:lana-/* 196, 303

/i:-/ 199, 200

/-il(i:)-/ 195
/irwa-/ 271
(SOLIUM)/isanu(wa)-/ 191
/i:starta-/ 196
/-id-/ 198
/-iya-/ 183, 197, 202
/i(ya)sa-/ 200
/-itsa-/ 197
i-zi-ya-ta~i-zi-i-ta 183

(DEUS)*Kar-hu-ha-ya* 187
Kar-ka-mi-si-za-(URBS) 197
ká-ta/i_4 180
/Kawa/ 4
/kummaiy(a)-/ 197, 256, 257
/kummatsa-/ 197, 257
/kurupi-/ 273
/kutassra/i:-/ 183, 198, 311
/ku(wa)lan-/ 197
/kwadi:/~/kwari:/ 207

/-la/i:-/ 195
/lammar/*~/lammn-/ 198
la-ma-ni-(ya)- 182

/-m(m)a/i:-/ 194, 195, 198
ma-nu-ha 180, 207
/-mmants/ 172, 189
/marad(i:)-/ 197
ma-ru-ha 180
/massan(i:)-/ 197
/maddu-/ 198
/-mi/ 160, 175, 189, 190, 203
-mi-na 194
/miyant(i:)-/ 198
*/mizra-/ 178
Mi-zi/a+ra/i-mu-wa- 178
/-mu/ 160, 175, 183, 189, 190, 204

/nanassra/i:-/ 196
/napa/ 136, 210
/na(wa)/ 136, 206
/ni:pa/ 136, 210
/ni:(s)/ 136, 206
/-ntsi/ 171, 172, 186

/-ba/ 208, 209
/pihamma/i:-/ 195
pi-na-ta/i_4 181
/pidá-/* 195
/piya-/ 200
pi-ya- 184
/Runtiya-/~/Runtsa-/ 184
/ruwan/ 184
rú-wa/i-na 184

/sarla/i:-/ 195
SISARALI- 271

/ta:-/ 199
/-ta-/ 196
/-t/da-/ 196
/-ta/ 179, 200, 210
/tama-/ 199
(VASTUS)/tannata:-/ 199
(VASTUS)/tannata/i:-/199
/tanimants/ 180
/tanis-/ 198
(FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)/tanidi-/ 258
(CRUS)/tanu(wa)-/ 199
ta+ra/i-ma-za 180
/targasna-/ 195
/taru(d)-/ 327
/tada/i:-/ 195
/tadalla/i:-/ 195
ta/i_5-ta/i_4-mi 181
tá-tara/i-ya- 197
/tadi(ya)-/ 197
/dawa/i:-/ 195
ta-wa/i 185
ta/i_4-wa/i-ni-(sa) 181
/-t/d(i)-/ 197
/-di/ 190
/dibas-/ 184, 198
/Tiwad-/ 21, 195
/Tiwadama/i:-/ 195
/-du/ 189, 190
/tu:bi:-/~/tu:bai-/ 199
/tubiri/ 172
tu-pi+ra/i 172
/tuwa-/ 189
tu-wa/i-ta~tu-ta 183

/-una/ 194, 198
/untsa-/ 189
/untsunts/ 172, 189
u-zu-za 172, 189, 203
/ubadid-/ 198
/uranu(wa)-/ 199
/ussa/i:-/ 195

/wa/ 160, 161, 209, 210

/wal(a)-/~/war(a)-/ 180
wa/i-la-~wa/i+ra/i- 180
/walili(d)-/ 238
/walli(ya)-/ 199
/-wann(i:)-/ 197
/wani(d)-/ 317
wa/i-ni-za 182
/waralla/i:-/ 190
wa/i+ra/i-la-ya 190
/wara-mu(wa)talla/i:-/ 198
(*481)*wa/i+ra/i-mu-ta-li-* 198
/wassar-/ 196
/waw(a)/i:-/ 195
/-wi/ 182, 192

/-tsa-/ 197
za- 190
/tsard-/ 195
za+ra/i-za 182
za-si 191
zi/a-tá-zi/a 190
/tsuwan(a)/i:-/ 195

(DEUS)SOL-*mi-sá* 227
DOMUS-*na-za* 183
FRONS-*lá/i-* 195
LOCUS-*ta/$i_{4/5}$-* 195
"LONGUS"-*ta/i_5-ya* 179
MALUS-*ta/i_4-zi* 180
MALUS-*ta/i_5-sa-tara/i-ti* 180
NEPOS-*sa* 173
PORTA-*la-na-* 196
POST+*RA/I-(i)-* 196
PURUS+*MI-ya-* 197
REGIO-*ni*-DOMINUS-*ni-* 198
REL+*ra/i-pa* 210
REL-*(a)-ti*~REL+*ra/i* 207
REL-*(a)-za* 207
REL-*i* 191, 205, 207, 208
REL-*(i)-sa-ha* 191
REX-*ta-hi-sa* 182
REX-*wa/i-ta/i-* 198
SUPER+*RA/I-la/i-* 195

HITTITE

-alla- 16
^{m}*A-la-li-mi-* 181
allappaḫḫ- 181
-alli- 16
-an (gen. pl.) 175
apeniššan 207
^{É}*arkiw(it)-* 18
armuwalašḫa- 223
-aš (dat.-loc. pl.) 175
-(a)šta 210
-at(t)alla- 16

-ēl 16
elaneškemi 206
ērḫui(t)- 17
ēš(ša)ri- 199, 261

^{É}*ḫalent(i)u-* 17
ḫalmaššuitt- 20
ḫaršiyalli- 245
^{NINDA}*ḫarzazun* 217
ḫašša- 17
ḫaštai- 261
ḫattalla- 199
ḫattili 129
ḫazziw(it)- 18, 182
ḫazziye- 178

ḫīla- 196
ḫiyara 255
-ḫšu 16
ḫuḫupal 241, 258
ḫuidār 187
ḫulalittat 13
ḫuppar- 196
ḫurkil- 249
ḫurlili 129
ḫurtiyalla- 16

išḫa- 257
išpant- 23
ištamaššuwar 20
išuwa 218
-(i)yai- 16

^{f}*Ka-li-* 180
kammara- 230
-kan 210
kant- 196
kappilā(i)- 205
karuwili- 16
kāša 204-206
katta walḫuwaš 253
kuiš 191
kulawaniš 81

kurša- 268, 269
kutt- 199
ˀkuwayatallu 194

labarna- 18, 19, 145, 146, 181
luwili 16, 27, 32, 128, 129, 170

-ma 175, 208, 209
maḫḫan 207
mannittiš 20
meluli- 261
mišriwant- 178

našili 15, 27
neš(umn)ili 15
nešili 27, 129
-niga 16
nu 209
nū- 20, 206, 249

paḫḫurzi 72
palaumnili 27
palwattalla- 16
pabilili 129
patalḫa- 199
pattar-palḫi- 198
peššiyanun 13

šaḫḫan 205, 243, 245
^{LÚ}*šaḫtarili-* 16
šā(i)- 228
šakan 11, 184
šalḫittiš 20
šalli aniur 253, 254
-šan 210

šepa- 230
šiu(ni)- 219
šiuš-šummiš 216
šiwatt- 224
šuppi- 23, 256

^{LÚ}*ta/uḫ(u)kanti-* 20
taknaz dā- 247, 248, 254
dammara- 217
dammil(i)- 16
tabarna- 18-20
tarḫu- 220
taruptat 13
tarwai- 241
daššu- 19
tāwana 20
tawananna- 17, 18, 20
tāwani- 20
telipuri- 20
^{GIŠ}*tuḫupzi-* 17
tummantiyaš 20
^{LÚ}*duddušḫiyalla-* 16

-uman 23
uppa/i- 200
ubati- 19, 20
urkiyaizzi 16
-uzzi- 188

wantai- 223
Wilušiya- 12
witaššiyaš 243
witti meyani 245

zuppariyalli- 16

LYCIAN

-e (dat. pl.) 175
epewētlm̃mēi 176
-ẽ (gen. pl.) 175
**Hāta-* 229
kumma- 257
ladãi 176
mahan(a)- 218

me 175
Pinale 181
tewinaza- 181
wasaza- 17
-xa/-ga (pret. 1st sg.) 175
xahba- 17

LYDIAN

-av 175
Lamẽtru- 181

Marivda- 229
Tivda- 225

AKKADIAN

bît ḫilani 296, 302-304, 329
Ḫatti 130
išpattalu- 23
lulimmu 229
nuwa'um 3
^{LÚ}*ta-ar-mi-la-a-a* 113
upatinnum 23

ARMENIAN

darbin 19

EGYPTIAN

ḫt' 130

GREEK

a-si-wi-jo 7
δέπας 184
po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja 268

HATTIC

b/var 18
Ḫa-wa$_a$-an-ta-li-i 225
-il- 16
^{LÚ}*dudušḫiyal-* 16

HEBREW

ḥtym 130

HURRIAN

tisupi hubiti 141

LATIN

bonus 20
faber 19
ualeō, 19

OCS

vlasti 19

OHG/MHG

tapfer 19
waltan 19

PHOENICIAN

bl 136
'ztwd 136

PHRYGIAN

kubileya 273

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PLATES

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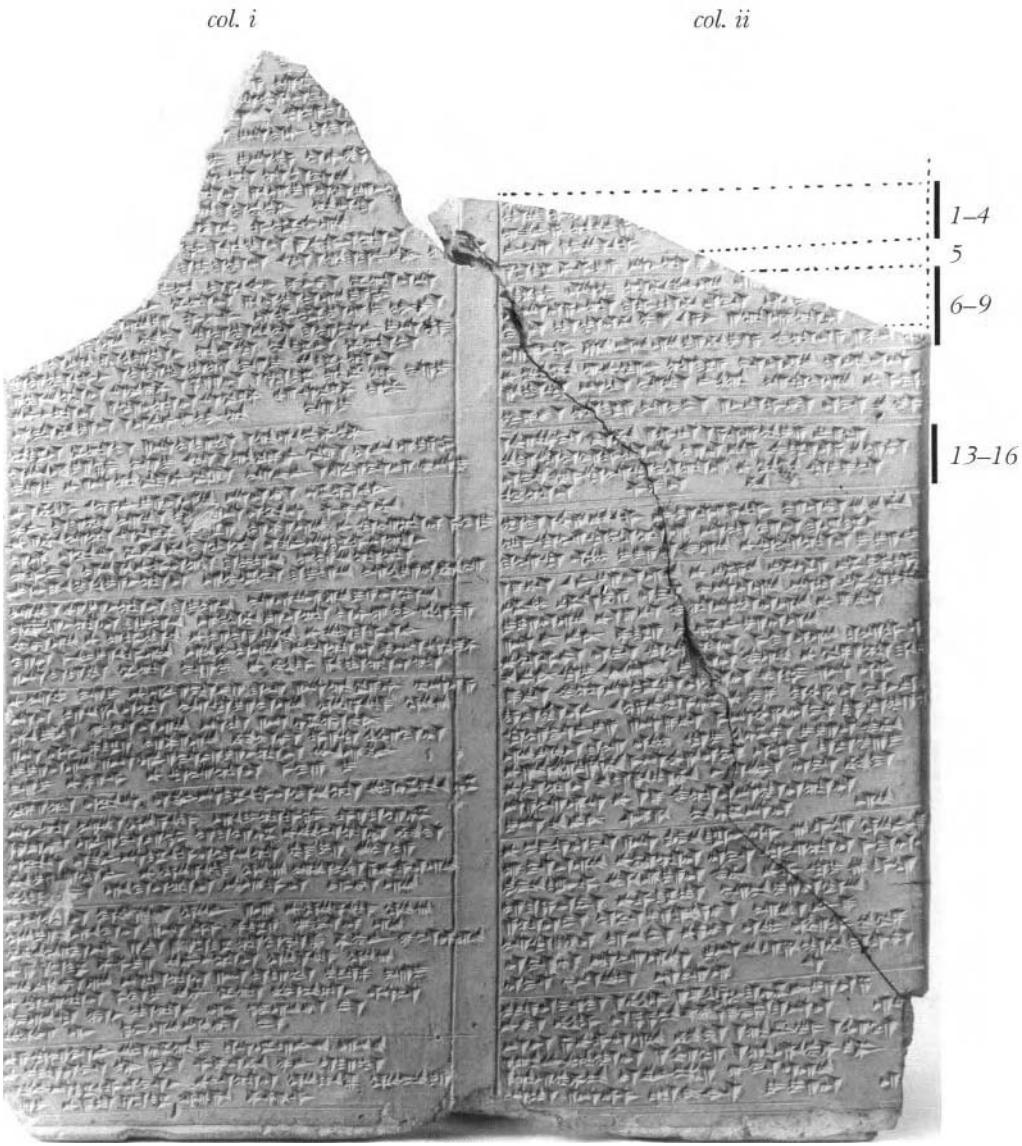

Plate I. a. Hittite tablet, obverse columns i-ii (British Museum, no. 108548: 1913-10-11, 1, reproduced by permission of the Trustees). The tablet contains the texts of three separate rituals: the first col. i - col. ii 16 is one of the five duplicates of the ritual of the doctor Zarpiya of Kizzuwatna (Starke 1985 46-55). The colophon terminating and describing the text is visible on col. ii 13-16 between double rulings, after which (col. ii 17) the second text, that of Uhhamuwa of Arzawa, begins. The Zarpiya ritual is written in Hittite with two short passages of Luwian incantation which appear on this exemplar on col. ii 1-4 and 6-9. Line 5 reads: 'he breaks the thick bread [simultaneously speaking in Luwian] "...".'

Plate I. b. İMAMKULU rock relief, southeast of Kayseri. The scene is composed of three parts: (1, left) a tutelary figure with bow and spear with the epigraph *Prince Kuwalanamuwa*; (2, centre) the Storm-god in his bull-drawn eagle chariot drives over the shoulders of three bowing mountain-men supported by caryatid griffins, and he bears the epigraph *Storm-god of Aleppo*; (3, right) an Ishtar-figure goddess throwing back her garment to reveal her nudity stands on a lion(?)-monster with four pairs of wings (no epigraph here).

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Plate I. c. EMİRGAZİ altar B seen from four sides, the best preserved of the four altars, A, C and D being fragments. All four bear parts of the same text, which can thus be largely reconstructed missing only the beginning. The altars were found at Emirgazi, between Aksaray and Ereğli, on the Karaca Dağ, the Mount Sarpa of the text, where they had been set up by Tudhaliya IV as part of the cult of the Stag-god and his consort. The inscription shows the Empire period monumental relief script, and the vertical line marking the left right edges of the text is visible, most clearly on the second photograph from the right.

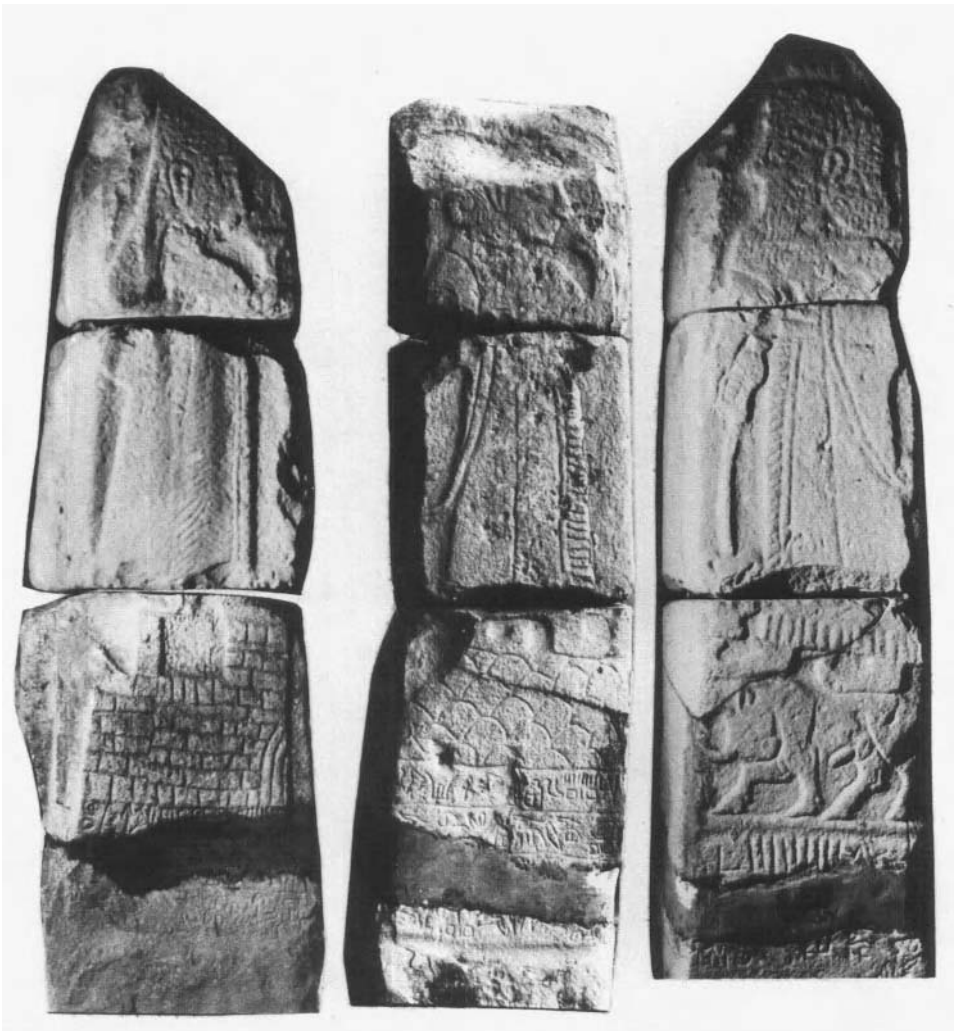


Plate II. a. The İŞPEKÇÜR stele, restored from having been broken into four pieces. The sculpture on three sides show: (A) Arnuwanti 'the grandson', standing on a bull, pouring a libation to (B) Arnuwanti (his grandfather), grandson of the Hero Kuzi-Teshub, the king of Malatya, shown standing on a mountain (i.e. dead and deified), and (C) Arnuwanti the elder's wife (grandmother of A) shown standing on a tower with city-gate. The elder Arnuwanti is one of the two kings of Malatya named as grandson of Kuzi-Teshub, thus his brother Runtiya also ruled the city. Arnuwanti the younger, four generations from Kuzi-Teshub, must date to ca. 1100 BCE.

Plate II. b. Karatepe, sculptures from the North (Lower) Gate, with the end of the Hieroglyphic inscription KARATEPE Hu. ('Hieroglyphic, unten'), §§LXXIIb-LXXV. The Hieroglyphic inscription is placed over the sculptured slabs themselves and on elements between them, as here, on the plinths, and on the portal figures, as here on the sphinx. It is executed in linear incised script, and it occupies much more space than the Phoenician text. The sign forms generally suggest a late date, and the historical context as understood points to the beginning of the 7th century BCE.

Plate II. c. Karatepe, sculpture from the North Gate entrance, with the entire Phoenician inscription, KARATEPE Phu. ('Phönikisch, unten'). The text begins on element I (right-hand broad and narrow slabs), continuing on II (middle slab), III (left-hand), and along the plinth, to terminate on the lion. As the Phoenician occupies so much less space, the passage from the text, corresponding to the Hieroglyphic passage on b, runs only from element III, end of penultimate line, along the plinth to the lion. Semitists generally agree on a paleograph date for the script of late 8th - early 7th centuries BCE (Photographs from Çambel 1999 pls. 6, 85, 87).

Plate III. a. KARKAMIŠ A 13*d*, introduced by the portrait figure of the ruler Katuwa ('I (am) Katuwa...'), depicted in the style of the early Late Hittite ruler. The text is rendered in the typical early Carchemish style of Katuwa and his father Suhi II, monumental relief signs. It is truncated by the loss of the left side: running *boustrophedon* it reads l. 1 [...], ll. 2-3 [...], ll. 4-5 [...], ll. 6-7 [...], ll. 8-9 [...].

C

B

A

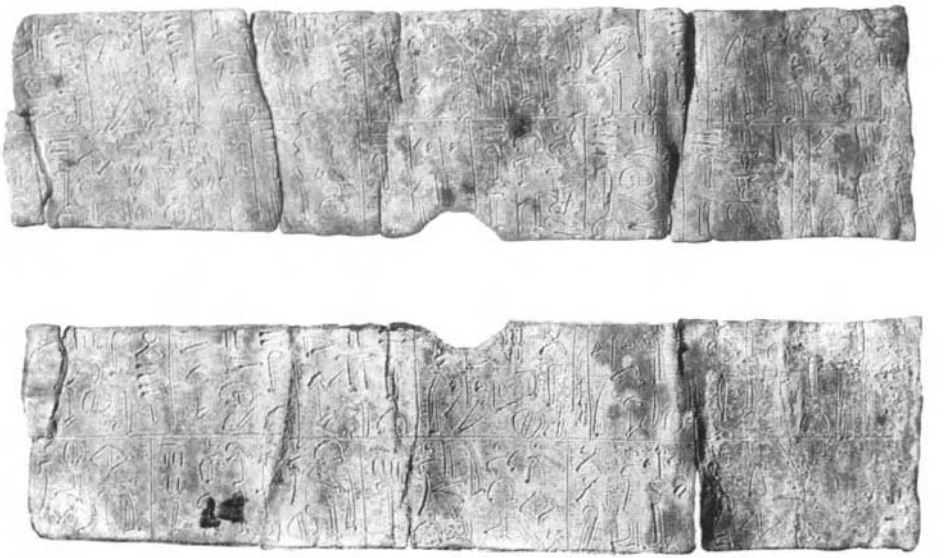
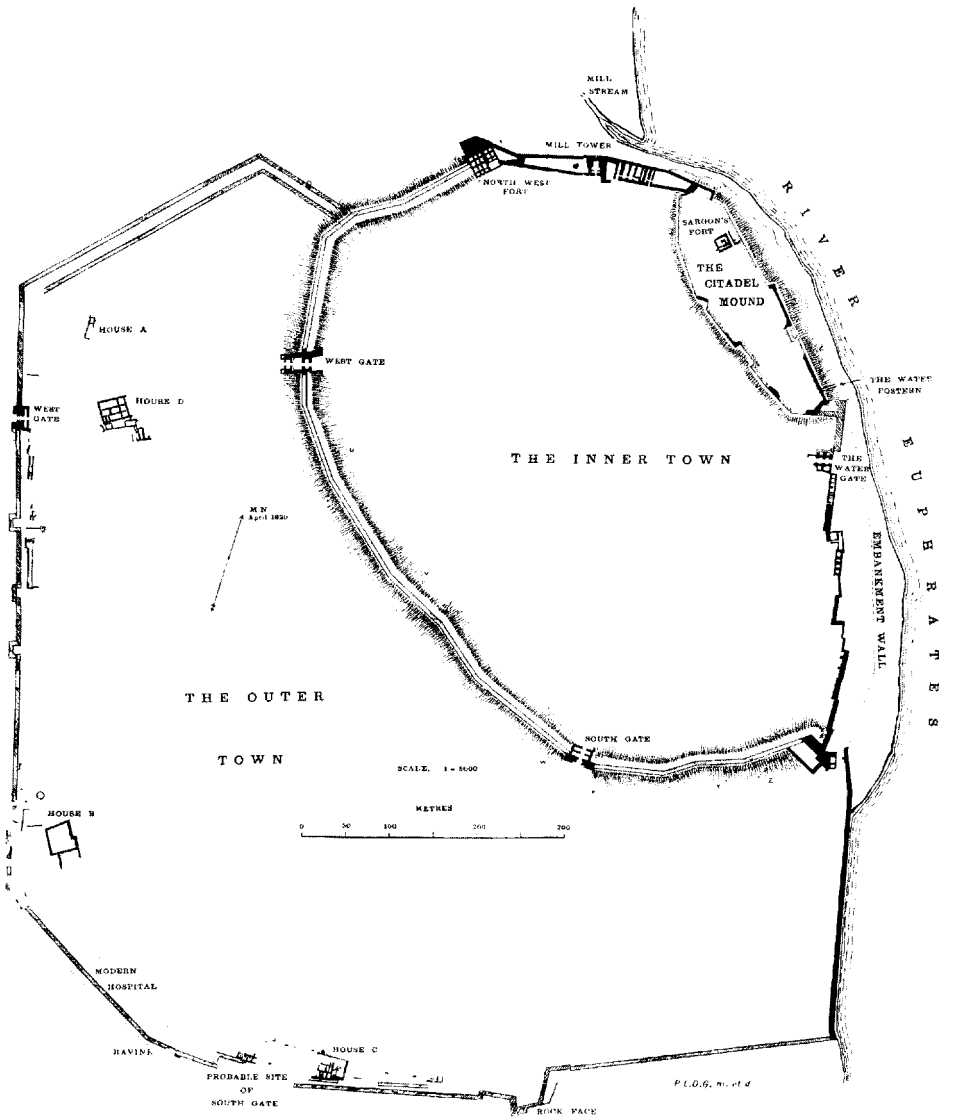


Plate III. c. KULULU lead strip 2, an administrative text recording issues of sheep to named individuals and groups of workers. Each side is divided into two lines by a horizontal ruling, and each line into a number of 'boxes' by vertical rulings, each box containing one entry. Each entry begins with numerals, hundreds (𒐗), tens (–), and units (|), followed by the logogram SHEEP (𒄷), and in the first entry, a phonetic writing *hawin* (acc. sg. MF). The linear incised form of the script found on these lead documents and also the ASSUR letters is clearly a 'cursive' handwriting. Date: late 8th century BCE.

←

Plate III. b. KULULU 1, inscription of Ruwa, servant of the ruler Tuwati, recording the building of houses under the protection of the Storm-god (photographs, I. J. Gelb). The inscription begins on the top right side (A) and runs round the front (B) to the left side (C), descending to line 2 and running back C, B, A, descending to line 3 and so on down to line 6, right end. The signs are in the linear incised 'Kululu' style typical of most of the 8th century Tabal inscriptions, apparently representing a handwritten script as seen below on c.



THE TOWN DEFENCES

Plate IV. General plan of Carchemish after Woolley 1921 pl. 3.

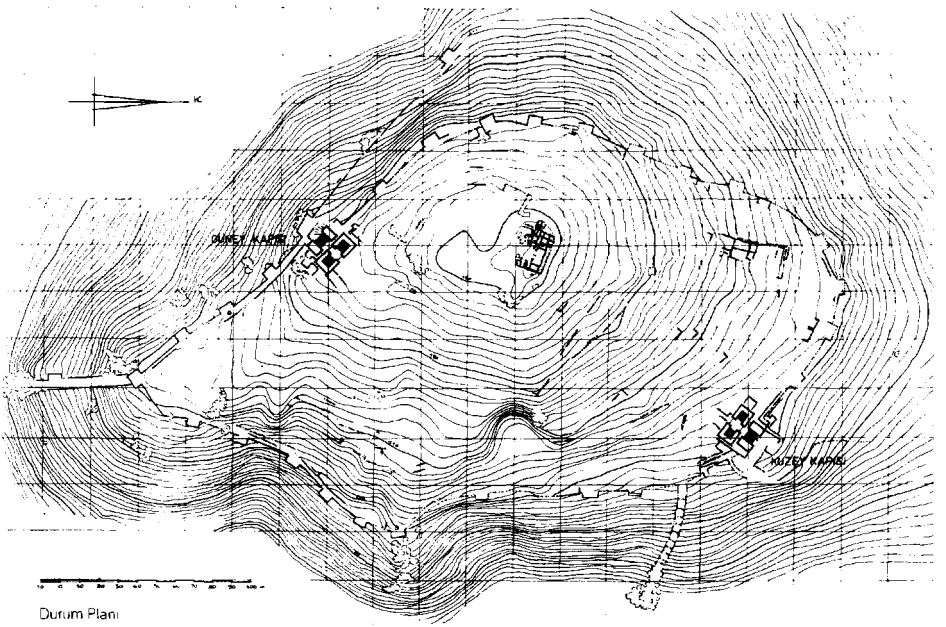


Plate V. General plan of Karatepe after H. Çambel, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 1993, Abb. 1.

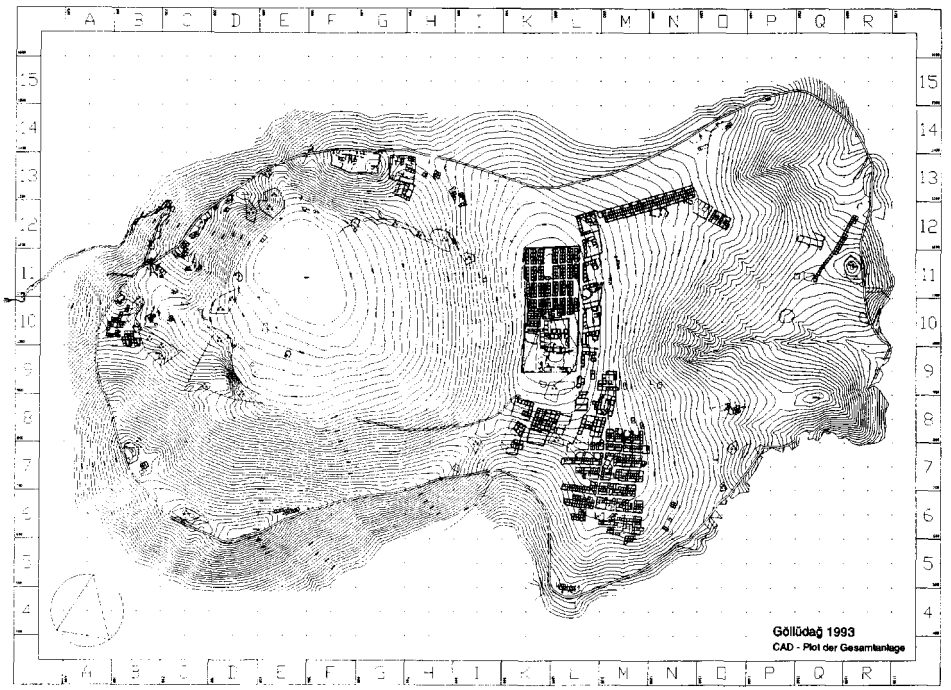


Plate VI. General plan of Göllüdağ after Schirmer 1993, Fig. 3.

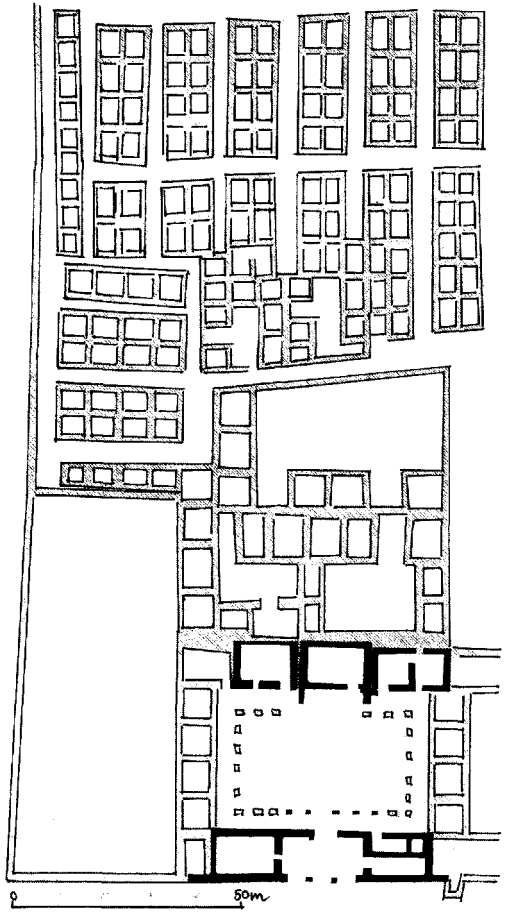


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Plate VII. a. Plan of the public building in Göllüdağ, drawing after Schirmer 1993 Fig. 4.

Plate VII. b. Fragmented lion head from Kululu, photo S. Aro

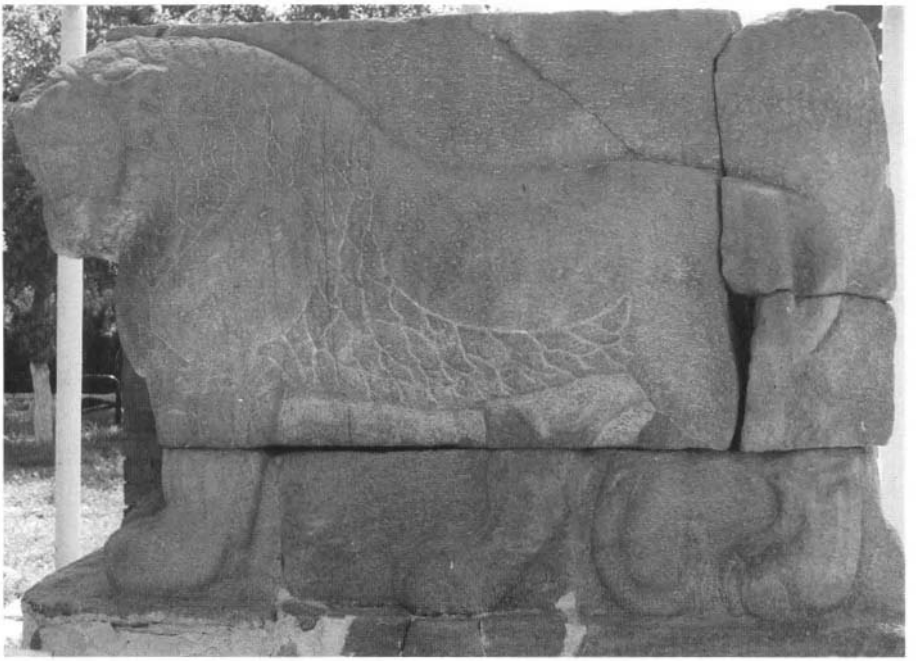

Plate VIII. a. Göllüdağ double lion, profile of the right lion, present state of preservation in Kayseri museum garden, photo S. Aro

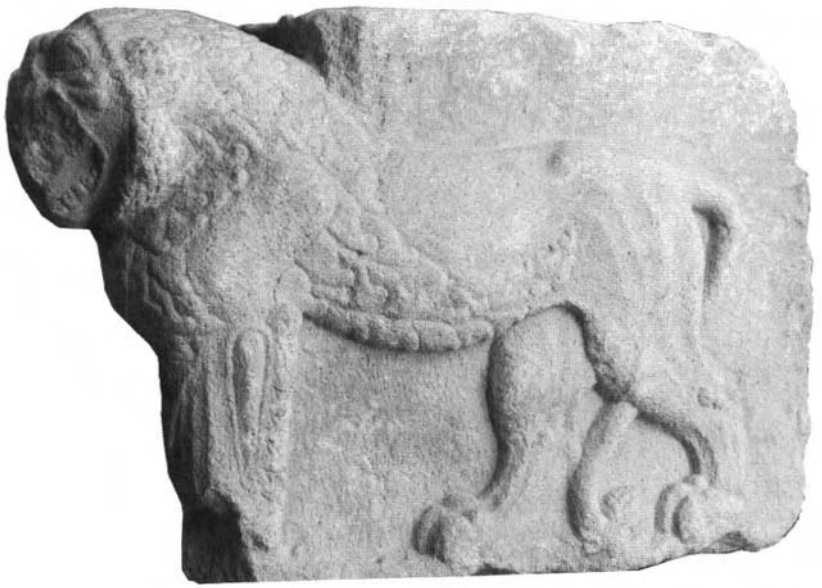

Plate VIII. b. Gate lion from Göllüdağ, photo S. Aro

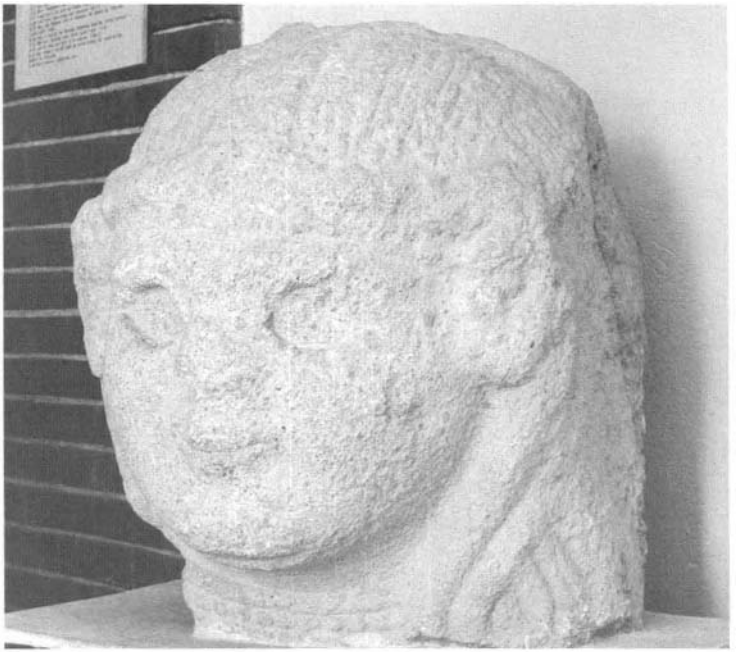

Plate IX a. Fragmented sphinx head from Kululu, photo S. Aro

Plate IX. b. Fragmented sphinx body, photo S. Aro

Plate X. Reliefed orthostat block from the Lion Gate in Malatya after M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* pl. 51.

Plate XI. Reliefed orthostat from Herald's Wall in Carchemish, after D.G. Hogarth, *Carchemish. Report on the Excavation at Djerabis on Behalf of the British Museum* I. (London 1914) pl. B14b

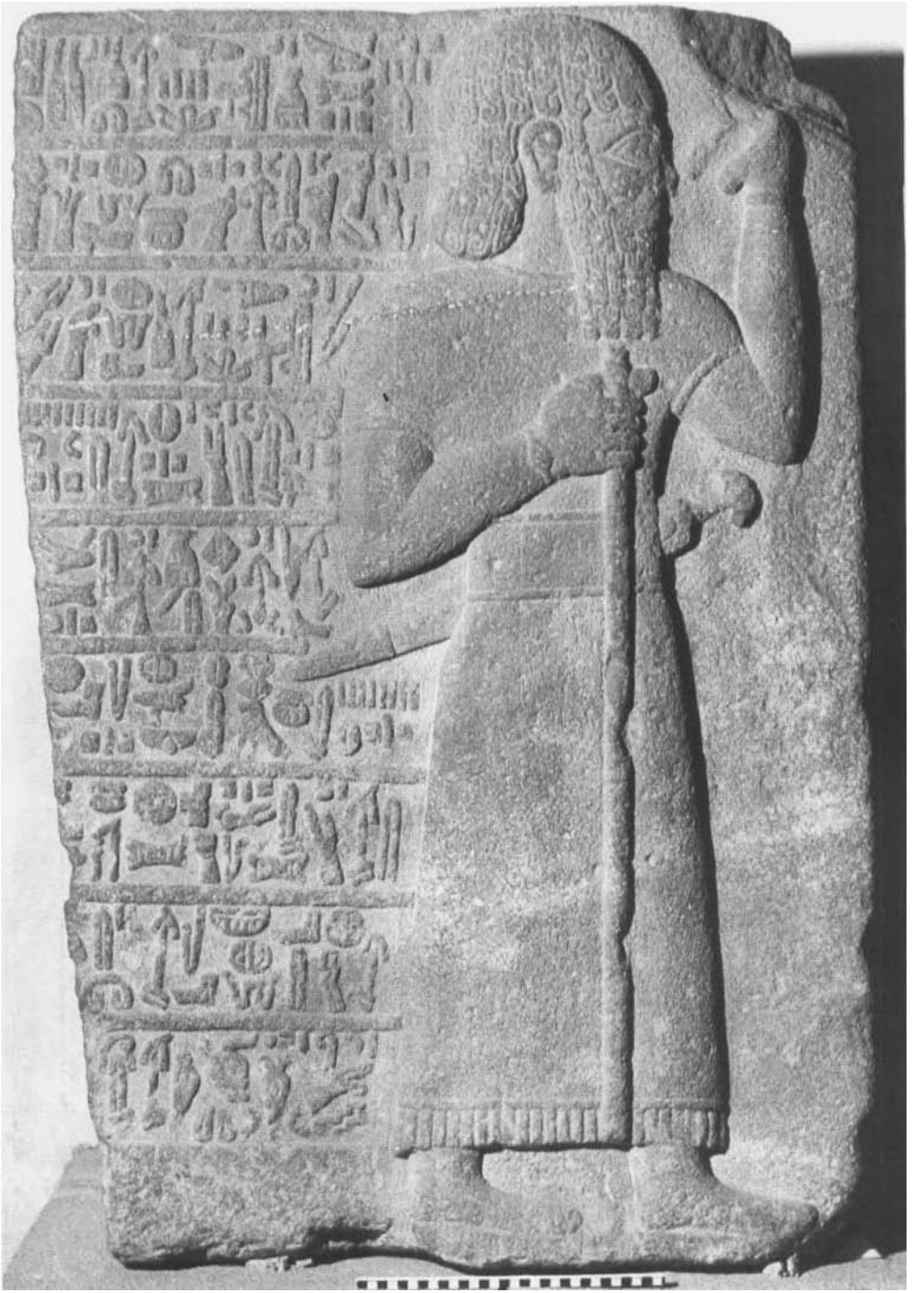

Plate XII. Reliefed orthostat with HLuwian inscription and portrait of the ruler Katuwa from Carchemish, after Woolley 1921 pl. A13d

Plate XIII. Reliefed orthostat from Royal Buttress in Carchemish with Yariri and Kamani after M. Riemschneider *Die Welt der Hethiter* pl. 68.

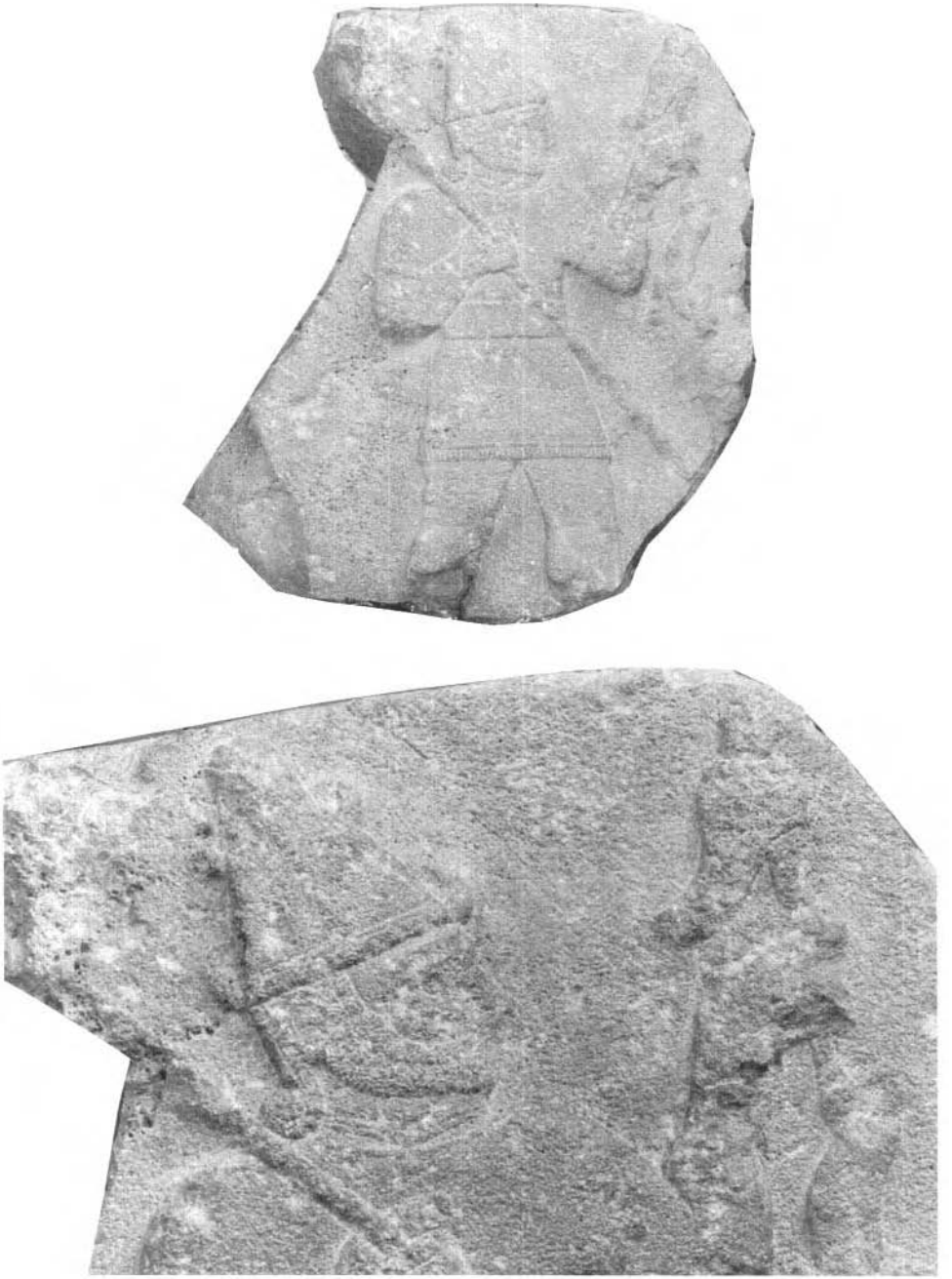

Plate XIV. Tutelary deity from Kültepe, photos S. Aro

Plate XV. Reliefed orthostat from Karatepe after Darga 1992 Fig. 329.

Plate XVI. a. Storm-God of "type 1", drawing after a stela found in Babylon.

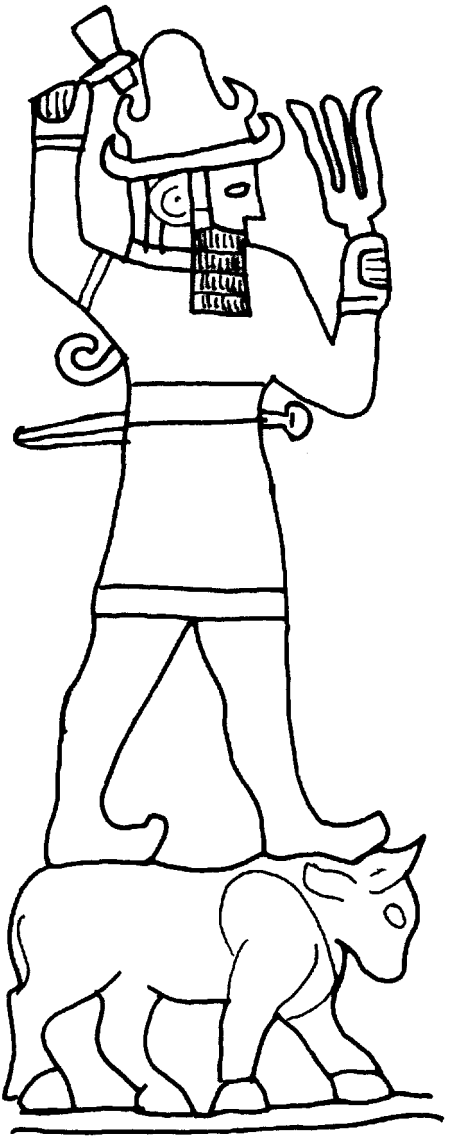

Plate XVI. b. Storm-God of "type 2", drawing after a stela from Tell Ahmar.

Plate XVII. a. Stela from Keşlik, photo S. Aro

Plate XVII. b. Fragmented stela from Ivriz, photo S. Aro

Plate XVIII. a. Detail of the fragmented stela from Aksaray showing the left boot of the Storm-god, photo S. Aro

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Plate XVIII. b. Stela from Niğde, photo S. Aro

Plate XIX. Detail of the stela from Niğde, photo S. Aro

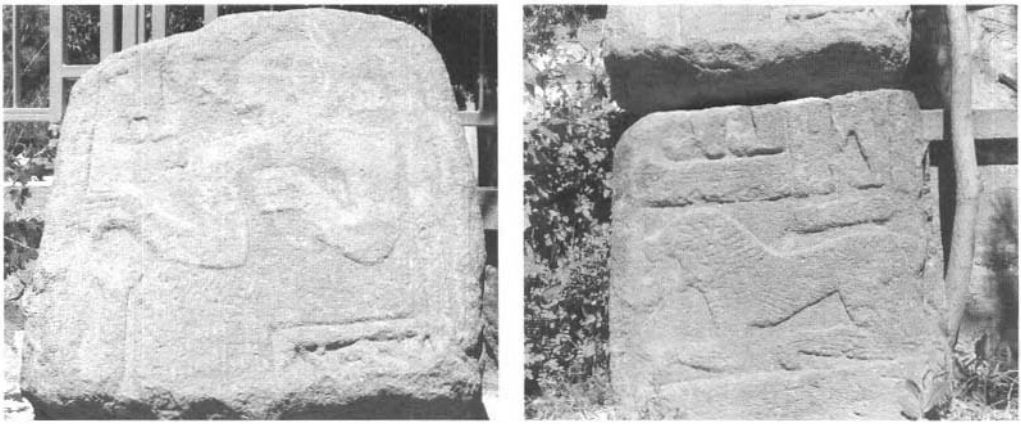


Plate XX. a. Stela from Tavşan Tepesi broken in two pieces, photo S. Aro.

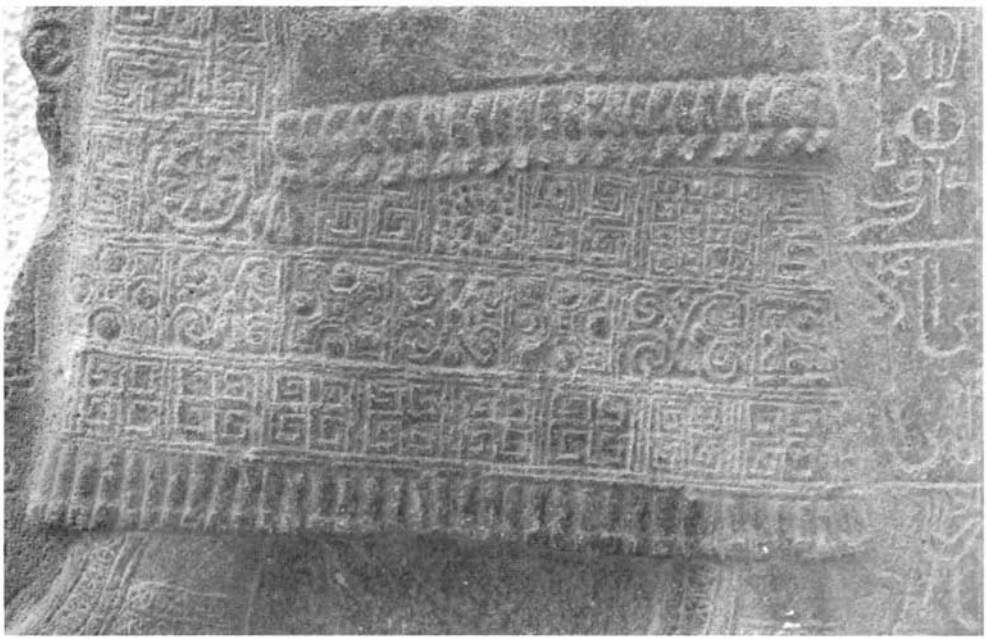


Plate XX. b. Detail of the stela from Bor showing the embroidered cloak of Warpalawas, photo S. Aro

Plate XXI. a. Detail of the fragmented stela from Andaval, photo S. Aro

Plate XXI. b. Stela from Çiftlik, photo S. Aro →

Plate XXII. a. Stela from Maraş, after M. Darga 1992 Fig. 302.

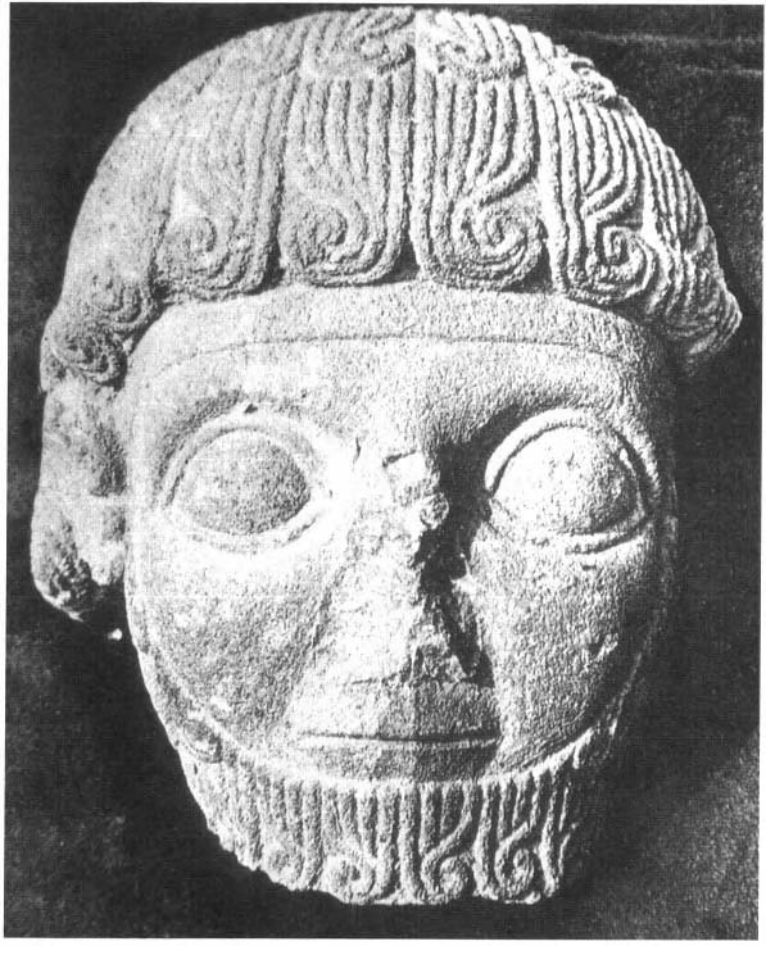


Plate XXII. b. Carchemish head fragment of a funerary statue after M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* pl. 67.

Plate XXIII. Colossal statue from Kululu, after Özgüç 1971 pl. 36.

Plate XXIV. a. Head fragment of a statue from Kululu, after Özgüç 1971, pl. 40,2

Plate XXIV. b. Head fragment of a statue from Ivriz, photo S. Aro. →

Plate XXV. Rock relief in Kızıldağ, after Bittel 1976 Fig. 270.

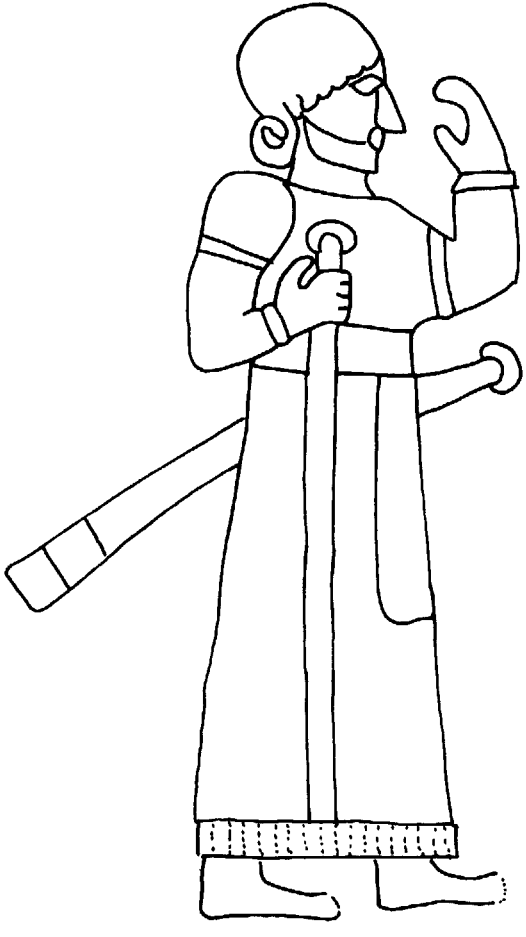
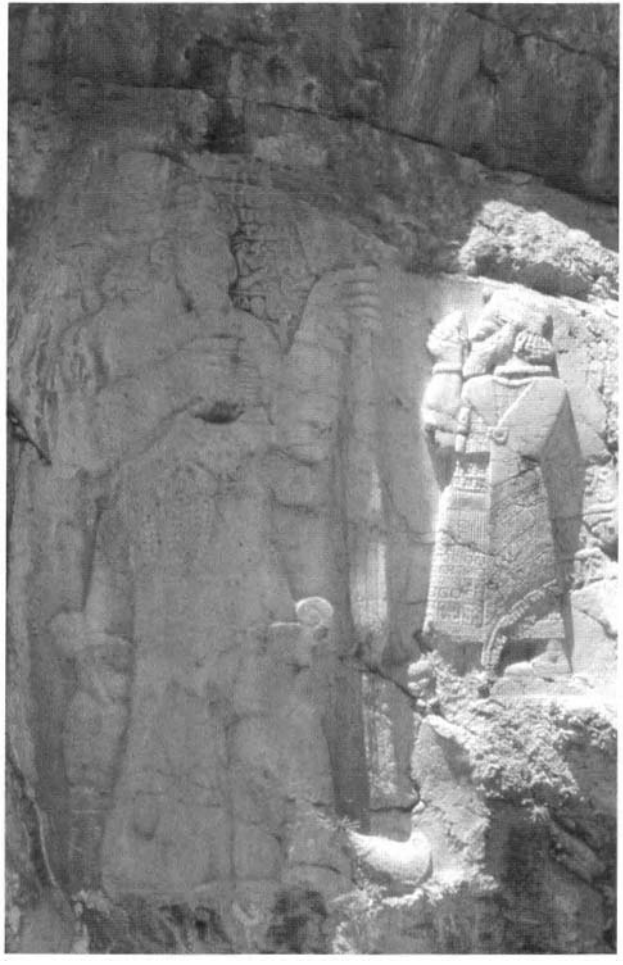


Plate XVI. b. Rock Relief in Gökbez, photo S. Aro

← Plate XXVI. a. Rock Relief in Karapinar near Kayseri, drawing after Özgüç 1993 pl. 87.



← Plate XXVII. Rock relief in Ivriz, photo S. Aro

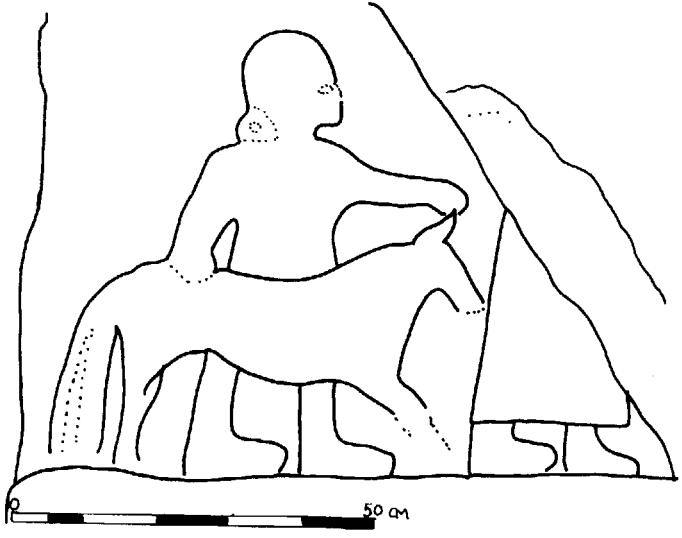


Plate XXVIII. Rock relief in Ivriz, drawing after Bier 1976 Fig. 5.

Plate XXIX. Rock relief in Ambarderesi, photo S. Aro